

PEACE NEWS

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THREEPENCE

U.S. ATOMIC BOMBER BASES

They endanger the civil population

—EMRYS HUGHES, MP

AS a sequel to the statements of Mr. Winston Churchill before the General Election in which he drew attention to the extreme gravity of the step that had been taken in providing bases from which United States bombers carrying atom bombs could be launched, Emrys Hughes asked the Prime Minister on Nov. 21 if he would take steps to terminate the arrangement by which United States atom bombers are based in this country, in view of the dangers of retaliatory bombing to the people living in the crowded cities of Britain.

The Prime Minister: Certain bases and facilities in the United Kingdom were made available by the late Government to the United States Air Force for the common defence of the United Kingdom and the other countries who are parties to the North Atlantic Treaty. This arrangement will continue so long as it is needed in the general interest of world peace and security.

Mr. Hughes: When this arrangement was entered into, was not the right hon. Gentleman highly critical—(Hon. Members: "No")—because of the dangers it meant to the civil population of this country? Is the right hon. Gentleman prepared to sacrifice the civilian population of this country to American strategy?

The Prime Minister: When this arrangement was made we, then on the Opposition side of the House, supported the Government in the matter and we shared with them, having regard to the difference between Government and Opposition, a large measure of responsibility for this extremely important and, I think I characterised it, "formidable" act.

MANILAL GANDHI DEMONSTRATES AGAINST APARTHEID AGAIN

MR. MANILAL GANDHI, son of Mahatma Gandhi, made a new demonstration against the South African Apartheid laws on Oct. 19, by going into the reading room of the Durban Municipal Library, supposed to be reserved for Europeans, accompanied by his wife and daughter.

They were twice asked by the Librarian to leave, and eventually had their names and addresses taken by the police.

This was their fourth visit to the Library.

Later Mr. and Mrs. Gandhi took their seats in the lower deck of a bus where non-Europeans are not allowed. After some discussion the conductor stopped the bus and telephoned the police, but returned shortly afterwards and quietly issued tickets to Mr. Gandhi.

U.S. Churches step up fight against conscription

THE peace churches and pacifist organisations in America are mobilising all resources to defeat the proposal for universal military training (conscription) which is expected to be brought forward any day. Delegations to Congressmen will be organised, and all sympathetic groups will be approached for support. Five-minute speeches against conscription intended to be broadcast from local radio stations, have been recorded by well-known public figures, including James Patton, Pearl Buck and Lewis Bromfield.

Christopher Fry replies to press critic

THE Sunday Observer of Nov. 18, contained a paragraph by "Pendennis" referring to the proposed visit to Russia of a group of British writers, almost exclusively non-Communist, under the auspices of the Authors' World Peace Appeal.

"It sounds harmless," he said. "The Appeal itself, which calls for a number of imprecise objects apparently connected with peace, sounded equally innocuous. Could such an appeal, signed by a very long list of authors, few of them Communists and including such respected men as Christopher Fry, Edmund Blunden and Siegfried Sassoon, really be not what it seems?"

"Pendennis" stated that Mr. A. E. Coppard, the originator of the appeal had a great deal to do with the Sheffield-Warsaw peace congress last years.

In a letter published in last Sunday's Observer, Christopher Fry, playwright and World War II CO, said that he could not understand "Pendennis's" suggestion

A WAR IN WHICH AMERICA MIGHT BE THE ONLY SURVIVOR

British writers protest at irresponsible journalism

ON behalf of the Authors' World Peace Appeal the following letter has been sent to the Editors of Colliers' Magazine, whose special issue of October 27—mainly devoted to a description of the probable effects of a third world war—was described in Peace News on Nov. 16. The letter is signed by A. E. Coppard, Naomi Mitchison, Alex Comfort and John Cousins. They write:

It is with a sense of bewilderment and despair that we write to protest against the irresponsibility of your issue of Oct. 27, 1951.

We feel bewilderment that people who can so glamourise and cheapen the tragedy of the fresh world war they envisage, could at the same time so piously protest their desire above all else to avoid it; despair, that in this broken world of 1951 any human being can still believe that such a war could lead to any good or happy result, even the rather trivial and conventional Hollywood happy ending your correspondents seem to combine in predicting.

DEGRADATION OF JOURNALISM

You have chosen the method of presenting us with a *fait accompli*. Evidently you did not wish to harrow your readers unduly since on not one page, in not one picture is there more than the merest hint of the wastes of human suffering that such a war must entail.

You make scarcely more than a conventional grimace of pity for the innocent victims of such a war.

Most Europeans are living in the chaos caused by the two world wars through which they, perhaps more than the Americans, have suffered.

Yet you show not one shadow of the doubt we feel; the doubt whether such a war could have any end at all, except the end of total annihilation; annihilation of life itself and of everything that makes life worth living.

Nor do you mention the widely held conviction that such a war, even such a victory, might only end in the Communism it seeks to extirpate.

INTELLECTUAL & EMOTIONAL DISHONESTY

Your method of presentation has precluded any mention of such doubts, such thoughts, such arguments, which are perhaps our greatest security against a renewed World War.

That in itself, appears to us an intellectual and emotional dishonesty for which the responsibility rests squarely on your shoulders as editors.

Your correspondents have as much right to their private wish-fulfilment fantasies about the fall of Communism as anyone, but by presenting these in the manner you have, you have incurred a public responsibility which no journalist in this country will envy you and which, we hope, few would wish to share.

If you aimed to produce an effect, you have certainly done it. We cannot recall any previous publication which has caused such widespread alarm and indignation.

Not only have you frightened and offended your friends, but you have put a God-given weapon in the hands of everyone who hates or distrusts your country, and dealt a crippling blow to those of us who do not equate peace with militant anti-Americanism.

If that has been the effect in this country, and we can assure you that it has, what

do you imagine has been the effect in Russia, where you have already been widely quoted?

CONFIRMING "WAR MONGER" CHARGE

If your idea was to separate the Russian people from the Communist Government it is unfortunate that you should have chosen as your weapon a mixture of arrogance and threat which seems to confirm practically every allegation of warmongering which the Communists have made against America and which can only generate a state of indignation in every Russian, whatever his private view of the Kremlin.

We do not believe that by outlining the desired ends you are striving to justify in your minds the horrifying means; we do not believe that you are attempting to foster such a feeling of justification; we do not believe that any American would wish to so justify a war, in which America would quite possibly be the only survivor.

Yet, if words still have meaning, if they still have power to sway men's minds and emotions, we can only believe that your words have brought nearer the very war you profess to deprecate.

IS "MRS MOPP" A COMMUNIST?

One of us showed your paper to his office cleaner—(we can if you wish give you her name and her address though she would much rather we did not). In the first world war she lost her father, in the second her husband, her daughter and her home. That may, of course, have influenced her judgment.

She made this comment: "I never believed until this moment, sir, that old Joe Stalin was right when he called those Americans warmongers. Perhaps then, after all, it ain't all his fault."

If you believe this woman is a Communist you will end by believing your own fiction columns.

BLOW TO ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

The group of 400 English writers at whose request we are sending this protest is not subsidised from Moscow, any more than she. Our only common political eccentricity is the desire to stay alive and permit others to do so—to prevent, as far as it is in our power, the catastrophe which you so blithely assume.

We desire friendship with all countries, including your own, and we deplore the mischief you have done to Anglo-American relations as much as the wider mischief you have done to world confidence.

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START DISARMING BRITAIN NOW!

—Ind. Labour Party

THE National Administrative Council of the Independent Labour Party has passed a resolution condemning as "hopelessly inadequate" the proposals made by the United States to UN in respect of partial disarmament, accompanied as they are by efforts to include Germany in the Atlantic Pact and Japan in the Pacific.

It calls on the British Government, in the name of humanity, to state clearly to the world that it is prepared to commence disarming forthwith. "We have a magnificent opportunity now to demonstrate our sincerity and to lead the nations along the paths of peace and reconstruction rather than into the abyss of war and universal destruction" the resolution ends.

REGISTRATION DAY

THE last registration day of the year is Saturday, Dec. 1, when young men born between Oct. 1 and Dec. 31, 1933, are required to register for National Service.

Any who intend to register as conscientious objectors are invited to write for advice about the procedure to the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors, 6 Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. Telephone: Euston 5501.

Czech pacifist in Britain

PREMSYL PITTER, Czechoslovakia's leading pacifist who has a world-wide reputation for his work amongst children in Prague, is now in England.

In Peace News next week he will report on conditions in that country as they affect the work of pacifists.



"We will restore some of Britain's former glory."

—Winston Churchill.

(Continued on back page)

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IMPERVIOUSNESS

THE other day the Daily Express had a leading article ridiculing the demands of the United Nations secretaries for more pay.

It appears they draw a £1,000-a-year tax-free salary plus nearly £2 10s. a day allowance, and some of them complain it is not enough for such an expensive city as Paris.

The Express asks why British taxpayers should "go on contributing towards these fancy salaries," and wishes someone would "stand up and shout out that British taxpayers cannot afford this nonsense."

We are not concerned here with the starving UN secretaries, except to remark that on an untaxed income of £5 a day in Paris we would undertake to keep body and soul together in a tolerable state of harmony.

The real question is whether anyone—besides ourselves—will stand up and shout that the people of Britain can no longer afford the nonsense, not of the UN secretaries, but of the UN leading representatives.

★

These men, the top-level politicians of the world, have been meeting regularly for five years for the professed purpose of settling the differences between the Eastern and Western nations and ensuring the peace of the world. So far, not one of them has made any visible attempt to do so.

They have turned the United Nations into a society for mutual recrimination. They have begun this year's deliberations in exactly the same old way, with no sign whatsoever as yet of changing that primary function.

Whatever the men themselves may think and feel as individuals, in all their published pronouncements there is no indication of a will to peace.

They do nothing but sling identical accusations backwards and forwards against each other, and in all their "peace proposals" they deliberately include conditions which they know the other party is afraid to accept.

To demand more than one knows the other party can give is no doubt a commonly accepted basis of commercial bargaining, and as such is innocent enough. But when the bargaining is with the lives of millions there is no word bad enough to describe the method.

★

It is interesting to note that the appointment of Mr. Eden as Foreign Secretary has been welcomed from all quarters because of his reputation for "sincerity" in his desire for peace.

It is true that in the past he has shown himself less bellicose than most Ministers, particularly those who have occupied that position.

But it is significant that the word should be given such publicity. It implies that sincerity is a quality not expected of a statesman.

This observation need not outrage anyone's feelings. None will deny that public political controversy consists largely of point-scoring; and it must be remembered that these deliberations between the nations are conducted with a view to the worldwide publicity they receive.

In domestic politics, a party bias is taken for granted and the whole truth is not expected. Why then should anyone expect international politics to be less directed by purely propaganda intentions?

But if in fact Mr. Eden is distinguished for sincerity, it is not very consoling. For he has begun by making just that very kind of statement which makes the situation so hopeless. He said that Mr. Vishinsky was "impervious to any shade of meaning but his own."

★

Now if there is one phrase which exactly describes the attitude of both sides equally throughout this vital controversy, it is just that.

Mr. Vishinsky has aroused the righteous indignation of the whole Western press by calling the Atlantic Pact a purely aggressive organisation. Very impervious of him. Doesn't everybody know it is purely defensive?

To balance that, we could choose many examples of Western imperviousness, but we prefer Mr. Churchill's latest:

"The mighty mass of the Russian army lies like a cloud over the German people."

And like what does the might of American atomic power lie over the Russian people?

An eiderdown, we presume.

A big step towards war

IT would be well at this stage to remember the historical truth that the irrevocable step towards a war is always taken some time before war appears inevitable and is more or less disregarded at the time.

For that reason everything possible must be done to focus public attention on the proposed rearmament of Germany and its inclusion in the Western defence scheme.

The real danger spot lies there.

Temporarily, Western Germany is a sovereign state—but only temporarily. The inevitability of ultimate German unity lies in the background of all actions and policies adopted by other governments concerning Germany. Therefore, to take any major decision regarding one part of Germany without considering its application to the whole of the country is either irresponsible to the last degree or criminally rash.

How is Russia expected to react?

All the governments have professed their adherence to the idea of ultimate German unity and independence; yet the Western Powers have apparently accepted the re-arming of Western Germany without any explicit reference to its relation to Germany as a whole.

But if Germany is to become united, and if one part of it is to be armed, then sooner or later Germany is to be a single, independent, armed State. For no government of either bloc, nor the Germans themselves, will permit one part of the country to remain armed without the other half.

If, therefore, Western Germany is to be armed, it can only be with the implied intention, or hope, of ultimately including the whole of Germany in the anti-Russian bloc.

How are the Russians expected to regard this proposal, except as a threat to clear them out of Germany by force?

To respond by arming the Eastern Zone, and compel the two sections of Germany to face each other as potential enemies, is unthinkable, and no one expects the Russians to attempt it.

It can only be interpreted as an attempt to force the Russians to choose between climbing down and getting out of Germany, or massing their forces along the Western borders and through the middle of Germany. And were that done, the third world war would be as good as started.

With the possible exception of America's refusal to recognise the real government of China, this is the most provocative act of the whole cold war.

Fateful decision in Rome

What are the chances of opposition to this scheme?

It has yet to be ratified by the North Atlantic Organisation meeting in Rome this week, but it has already been regarded, at least by Britain and America, as a *fait accompli*.

Mr. Eden, in the foreign affairs debate, said there is "now virtually no diplomatic contact" between East and West in regard to Germany, and because of that he seemed to imply that they must go ahead with the rearming of Western Germany and risk it.

Must we then conclude that all negotiations concerning Germany are at an end and no further attempts will be made to resume them?

We cannot believe that the ominous implications of this will be allowed to pass unchallenged, either in Parliament or outside it.

The one hope—disunity

It seems that the one source of hope lies in what the Americans most complain of—European disunity.

Britain has so far firmly refused to agree to the American proposal of European federation, on the grounds that it conflicts with Britain's position as "the heart of a Commonwealth," and would mean the setting up of a supra-national political authority to which the British Commonwealth would be subordinated.

American representatives told press correspondents at Strasbourg that they were "disappointed" at Britain's attitude, and were surprised that the Conservative Government, though "more benevolent than their predecessors towards the Council of Europe, are not in essence more ready to lead Britain into a constitutional movement embracing Europe as a whole."

This is all to the good. While friction on this matter remains, there is hope that British leaders, of all parties, may be encouraged to take a more independent attitude towards all the aspects of the international situation, including those fundamental matters on which Britain and America are admittedly in disagreement.

Where's that Socialist International?

Hitherto the British Labour Party have been amazingly indifferent to the dangers of American policy, even where their own traditional principles are concerned.

Their opposition to the Japanese Peace Treaty is confined to the question of trade competition, ignoring the Japanese Socialists' violent protests against Japanese rearmament.

Similarly, Dr. Schumacher's outburst last Sunday—"I would like to see the (West

BEHIND THE NEWS

German) army set up against the will of the Social Democratic Party!"—comes as a timely challenge to British Socialists.

We can still hope that out of these present disagreements the protests which have already begun will grow to an effective opposition.

Disarmament discussions can begin

LAST week we included in these notes the Western and the Eastern proposals for disarmament.

We pointed out that, apart from the fact that the Russians had emphasised the dissolution of the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation while the Western Powers had again headed their proposals with the repeatedly rejected demand for "disclosure and verification," there was a good deal of common ground upon which the two sides could begin to examine what was in the minds of their opposite numbers.

Mr. Vishinsky's second speech to the Assembly has certainly not brought the two sets of proposals nearer together, but some attempt should be made before the end of the Assembly sittings to initiate detailed discussions on one or other of these sets of proposals.

Western diplomats should observe that the proposals adopted by the World Peace Council at Vienna come a good deal nearer in emphasis if not in substance to the requirements upon which they have been insisting.

We have no doubt that the change in emphasis and temper is largely accounted for by the fact that the Vienna proposals have been modified in discussion and embody a certain amount of give and take. Nevertheless they have been endorsed by Russian Communists.

Where East nearly meets West

In the Vienna proposals for instance, the adoption of an international convention banning atomic weapons "must be followed immediately" by the putting into operation of an international inspection and control system.

The proposal for arms reduction, although it sets out to achieve a more ambitious objective than the Western proposals nevertheless assumes that there shall be gradual and simultaneous reduction, and it provides for a general arms census and the application of the inspection and control arrangements. All this is pretty closely in line with what the Western powers are proposing.

In the Vienna proposals it is suggested that the relative proportions of arms, and schedules of reduction, could be linked with the "actual level of arms, armed forces and arms production, and to the number of inhabitants, length of frontiers and communications system of each country concerned."

Whatever may be the case with the amendments Mr. Vishinsky proposes to move there is plenty in these Vienna World Peace Council proposals that could provide a basis for examination.

Bridging the China gap

DURING the past 12 months the Manchester Guardian has shown itself to be the one paper in this country to appreciate the signs of the vast social, economic and political revolution which has occurred in China.

Several series of articles have dealt with different aspects of this revolution, and now comes a second series from Robert Guillain, the special correspondent of Le Monde. Robert Guillain has painted a grim picture of the persecution and "liquidation" of internal enemies of the regime represented by the Government of the Chinese People's Republic.

There is little use in denying many of the facts he has quoted which can indeed be confirmed from official Chinese Communist sources. It is no excuse to state that many of the victims are doubtless Kuomintang soldiers left behind by Chiang Kai-shek's retreating armies; or that they are dispossessed and consequently discontented landowners who for so long lived on the backs of the despised working classes; or that they are members of the gangs and secret societies which abound throughout the country.

Indian Ambassador's assessment

To the pacifist the lives of all, including the rogues and the scoundrels, are of value. These exterminations must go on the debit side of any account of Communist China which may be drawn up. There is however much to be placed on the credit side, as Mr. K. M. Panikkar, India's Ambassador to Peking, pointed out in Paris last week.

Mr. Panikkar, who has regularly been a friendly interpreter of the new China to the world outside, claims that economic stability has completely replaced the economic con-

fusion which previously existed. Currency and prices are both stable, and far from there being any famine in grain there is actually an exportable surplus: one million tons being offered to India last year. For the first time China has a completely organised central government and graft and dishonesty in high places has been largely replaced by loyalty and integrity.

An opportunity for Anthony Eden

Of Mao Tse-tung, Mr. Panikkar says: "A man of very wide human interest, a person devoted to things of the mind and with a full appreciation of what is required for China."

Of Foreign Minister Chou En-lai: "A man of the highest political integrity." These judgments are welcome and encouraging.

Incidentally, the Chinese Foreign Minister is shortly to pay a brief visit to London; in view of the clear distinction in the Chinese mind between Western Europe and North America here is surely a major opportunity for Mr. Anthony Eden to indicate a foreign policy separate from that of the USA and to reveal his ability as a bridge builder.

Not-so-free parts of the Free World

A RESULT of the invitation sent by the United Nations Trusteeship Committee to the South-West African tribal chiefs has been the South African delegation's intimation that they will not participate in the work of the Committee until the resolution extending the invitation is rescinded.

Dr. T. E. Donges, leader of the South African delegation, also announced that his Government would not recognise the invitation, and this may mean, although we hope it does not, that the chiefs will not be given the necessary facilities to leave Africa.

It is to be hoped that in the absence from Africa of Michael Scott there will be other friends of human liberty who will provide these men with the support and aid required to make their journey to Europe practicable.

The French walk out

Since this invitation was decided upon by the Trusteeship Committee, the Iraqi delegation has tabled a proposal that would empower the Committee to consider and make recommendations upon the internal political situation in any non-self-governing territory.

A French motion to adjourn debate on this proposal has been rejected and the French delegates have therefore walked out in protest.

The disposition to use a veto is not peculiar to the East it would seem; and we may find, if Hosea Kutako and his colleagues are not able to leave Africa, that it is not only in Eastern Europe that an iron curtain may exist.

Conscription and youth

WE cannot pretend that The Duke of Edinburgh, or Mr. Basil Henriques, that humane and wise London juvenile court magistrate, are likely to embrace the pacifist creed, but it is good to know that they are not prepared to hide their opinions for fear of misunderstanding.

Speaking at a two-day conference organised by the National Playing Fields Association, The Duke of Edinburgh appealed for more exciting and adventurous opportunities for young people, which would take the place of breaking the law or having a war; and Mr. Henriques, after commenting on the connection between lack of playing space and the numbers of children who come before the juvenile courts, went on to say that conscription had an unsettling effect upon the present generation.

When so many faults in the youngsters themselves are so readily pointed out, it is refreshing to find a man of such experience as Mr. Henriques making a statement like this. He said that, after leaving school at 15, young lads did not know how to fill the gap before they were called up, and the result was that they tended to argue that they might as well have a good time while they could.

Invidious comparisons

GENERAL EISENHOWER, acknowledging "the difficulties of forming a European army," warned the Western people last Monday that "another world war would mean a return to the conditions of the middle ages."

Prominent among "the conditions of the middle ages" was the total absence of high explosives and a ban on the indiscriminate slaughter of civilians except after due notice.

There were certain disadvantages in mediaeval life. Even wholemeal bread did not compensate for the permanent danger of plagues; there were no safety razors and the drainage system was poor.

But all those seem trivial compared with happiness and security of a way of life which was separated from the American atomic bomb stockpile by 700 years.

British dependence on the U.S.A.

MPs WARN OF GRAVE DANGERS

WE give here some of the more significant passages in the speeches made during the debate on Foreign Affairs in the House of Commons on Nov. 19 and 20.

The Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Anthony Eden): It is the depth and the width of the forbidding chasm that separates East and West, mentally as well as physically, that is so disheartening for the present and so alarming for the future. What are we to do about it? Can we do anything about it? And what plan are we to work to? Here is the cardinal issue in international affairs at the present time...

The Yugoslav Foreign Minister has now tabled a motion—a motion that recommends that the Soviet Union and the satellite States should re-establish normal relations with Yugoslavia in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations, and that mixed border commissions should be set up to investigate frontier incidents...

The view behind the Iron Curtain has yet to be declared. If they would but say, "Yes" to this, by one move they could at once reduce the tension in Europe and in the world, which still continues to mount.

Mr. Herbert Morrison (Lab., Lewisham South): All of us will have to be exceedingly careful when our strength is beginning to reach some degree of approximation to that of the Soviet bloc. A momentary aggressive mood, or, what is perhaps more possible, a needless attack of nerves—it may be on the part of one nation alone—could plunge us into the third world war.

U.S. POLICY

Mr. Geoffrey de Freitas (Con., Lincoln): I ask the Foreign Secretary to impress upon the Americans that what we need to show the world—and this goes for the East and the West—is not only good will but evidence of good will. Only a few years ago, throughout large regions of the world, the symbol of America was the missionary representing the great philanthropic societies of the United States. Today, unfortunately, we have reached a stage when the symbol is an American general and the missionary is all but forgotten.

It is up to us to join with the Americans in explaining the great assembly of arms in the West; because American policy appears to millions of people to be based on the assumption that a war with Russia is inevitable and that it is merely a question of manoeuvring to the most favourable ground. We know the Western world wants peace but others see only the vast assembly of arms.

PASSPORTS

Mr. C. Hollis (Con., Devizes): We all know really how absurd passports are. The first thing that an international crook or an international spy is always able to do is to forge the necessary papers to facilitate his movements. These regulations are entirely useless in preventing the movement of such people, whom we may well wish to stop.

They are useful only in harassing the good citizens of Europe who happen to lose their passports from time to time.

KOREA

Mr. D. Donnelly (Pembroke): There is considerable public disquiet in this country about the negotiations (in Korea) which have been dragging on for some many months. It is an indictment of both Governments which we have had in the course of this year. Many people feel that there is not the resolution on behalf of the Allies to get the peaceful settlement there ought to be. Many people are getting fed up with a situation which has been dragging on for a long time.

I noticed that the New York Times had an editorial saying, in effect, that it would be a good thing if we understood all the difficulties and that the lads in Korea must not get too fed up because people were really trying to patch up a settlement even though

Unbirthdays

WE recently received a contribution to Headquarters Fund as an "unbirthday present." Readers will recall the source of the quotation, and I hope respond to the idea.

I have previously suggested that to send a gift to Headquarters would be a happy way of marking a birthday or other anniversary. But THEY only come round once a year, and you can send an "unbirthday present" at any time! Every one can at least have one unbirthday during the fortnight.

So whether you have some special occasion for thanksgiving or not, you can show your thankfulness that the Peace Pledge Union represents one ray of hope in the confusion of conflicting voices, one symbol of sanity in a mad world, and that clouds have a silver lining by sending an unbirthday present to the PPU's Headquarters Fund.

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Amount received to date: £762.
Our aim for 1951: £1,000.
Please help us to raise, before the end of the year, the remaining: £238.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund" to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

they were slow about it. Forty-eight hours later came the startling revelation of the atrocities supposed to have been committed in China.

It is profoundly disturbing that when we are in sight of a cease-fire negotiation, someone is in a position to come along and throw a spanner in the works in this fashion.

It seems reminiscent of last December when we were hoping to get a solution and General MacArthur wrecked the whole idea.

Mr. B. Craddock (Lab., Spelthorne): It might well help towards the general situation in Korea and the Far East if the United Nations gave some indication at least of the policy which they hope to pursue after hostilities have ceased.

Mr. S. N. Evans (Lab., Wednesbury): I think it is very important for us to keep two things separate—Russian imperialism, which is traditional and as old as the hills, and goes back to Ivan the Terrible and Peter the Great and all the rest of it, and on the other hand, Communism.

I am not unaware of the fact that the Russians are using the slogans of Socialism, just as Philip of Spain used the slogans of Roman Catholicism to make respectable—at least he hoped it would—his imperialist ambitions. It is a very old game: all through history it has happened.

Mr. Michael Foot (Lab., Davenport): I remember a debate we had at the beginning of the Parliament of 1945 when it was also suggested that we were to have continuity of foreign policy.

From this passion for continuity of foreign policy one might imagine that our foreign policy over the last 20 years had been a great and glorious success and had resulted in great achievements and pacified the world.

I am not much in favour of continuity of foreign policy because I believe there have been many respects in which we have failed and in which we have to think out new policies.

If the supreme need of the hour was that we should have a Foreign Secretary who would make the case of the Western Powers appear as reasonable, constructive and well-intentioned as possible, the hon. Member for Warwick and Leamington (Mr. Eden) would be the ideal Foreign Secretary because he has had plenty of practice at it and has many qualifications for the post.

When it was the business of the Foreign Secretary of this country to make the policy of non-intervention in Spain appear as reasonable, as constructive and well-intentioned as possible, the right hon. Gentleman did it very well and when, at a later date, it was necessary to make the policy agreed at Yalta appear as reasonable, constructive and well-intentioned as possible, the right hon. Gentleman did that very well in the same fashion. But the well-intentioned policy of the right hon. Gentleman in Spain resulted in the destruction of the Spanish Republic and the well-intentioned policy of the right hon. Gentleman following the Yalta Conference resulted in the engulfment of almost half Europe within the Soviet Empire. Therefore, we have to judge the new Foreign Secretary, not only by his manners and his eloquence and his motives—which I am sure are all of the best—but by the wisdom of the policy to which he lends his talents. Today the Foreign Secretary said that we are all in favour of elections for a united Germany, but he also said in another part of his speech that we were going ahead with the proposal for incorporating Germany into a European system of defence.

Does he really believe that he can have those two things at the same time?

Does he really think it sense to believe that the Russians will agree to the proposition that they should have elections over the whole of Germany, but that Germany, after its Government has been elected, is to be a part of the Western European defence system...

CHINA

... The Chinese look upon this issue in Korea as a question partly of whether they are to be allowed to settle their own affairs in their own country. There is no argument about this. There was a civil war in China and that civil war was probably the biggest event in the world since 1945. The Chinese Communists were fighting that war against forces supported by the Americans, American aircraft and American guns. There were no Russians engaged in the fighting. The Chinese fought against forces assisted by aid given by the Americans.

Therefore, it is natural that the Chinese, looking at this situation should say, "We believe that tied up with the whole question of what should be a settlement in the Far East is whether we are to be allowed to settle our own affairs."

... If we accept dollar aid now to maintain a rearmament programme that is beyond our own means to support, so far from helping ourselves to try and achieve economic independence we shall be placing ourselves in a position of dependence on the Americans far worse than we have ever been in before.

Mr. R. R. Stokes (Lab., Ipswich): Let it be quite clear that we do not accept that

under-developed countries can only be developed in future on the old basis of vast profits being made out of them by private adventures...

When it is complained that the life-blood of Egypt, the Nile, is in danger, because the head waters rise outside Egypt and flow through the Sudan, I would reply that the agitation about the control of the head waters seems to me to be more political than factual.

I have never heard it emphasised in public speeches, or elsewhere, that water will run downhill. There is no engineer in the world who can prevent the flood water from the Blue Nile or the Atbara from reaching Egypt.

GERMANY

Mr. R. H. S. Crossman (Lab., Coventry East): The Foreign Secretary talked about "Germany" when he was referring to the West German Government at Bonn. That is a very dangerous psychological state to get into.

When we talk about integrating "Germany" into Western Europe, what we should talk about is integrating one part of Germany into Western Europe. When we talk about giving sovereignty to "Germany," we should realise that one is giving sovereignty to a fragmentary Government which is not an all-Germany Government and never will be. I would suggest to right hon. Gentlemen (Continued on page ten.)

STUART MORRIS ON

Lansbury's biographer & the PPU

"INACCURATE, INADEQUATE AND UNFAIR"

IN his Life of George Lansbury,* Raymond Postgate rightly complains that official action in retaining the complete contents of many boxes of George Lansbury's papers had deprived him of the opportunity of making use of valuable sources of information.

When I heard that Raymond Postgate had been asked to write this biography I offered to put at his disposal any letters or records which I or the PPU possessed relating to George Lansbury—and these included his notes of the interview he had with Hitler. He replied that he was not proposing to start on his task at that time, but that he would avail himself of the offer when he was ready.

It is regrettable that he did not do so, since the result has been not only actual inaccuracy in what he has written, but an inadequate picture of George Lansbury as we in the PPU knew him.

Not typical of the PPU

Raymond Postgate has based his account of the relations between George Lansbury and the PPU mostly on two quotations. One is an extract from something written by Roy Walker, though I have not been able to trace the actual source of the quotation.

Roy Walker was never the organiser of the PPU as Raymond Postgate states. He never had any authority to make pronouncements on behalf of the PPU, nor would anyone, including Roy Walker himself, suggest that his views were necessarily typical of the PPU as a whole, or represented more than his own personal opinion. Yet he is quoted in such a way as to imply that he was speaking as an official of the PPU, if not actually officially for it.

It was inevitable that in an organisation which was winning the adherence of so many young men who had been led by conscience to renounce war, there would be differences of opinion as to how the pledge was to be implemented, and that some of them would take a more "absolute" position than others felt was right.

G.L. was the first to recognise their sincerity. He was only concerned to ensure recognition of the fact that those who took a somewhat different line were equally sincere in their pacifism, and that so comprehensive a movement as the PPU should not commit itself to too narrow or rigid an interpretation of pacifism.

G.L. and the 1940 AGM

It is against that background that the second quotation (G.L.'s letter to the 1940 Annual General Meeting of the Peace Pledge Union) must be read, for, as I know, it was with that thought in mind that he wrote it.

The biography puts the incident in the wrong perspective.

In spite of the fact that the author quotes the request of George Lansbury that his message, if read, should be read in full, Raymond Postgate himself does not quote the whole letter and leaves out the more positive affirmation of G.L.'s own position, in such words as

"Only those whose convictions are founded on reason and real faith that war is a crime are able to stand by and continue to refuse to join in. I am unable to stand idly by and find myself

* Published by Longmans Green and reviewed by Vera Brittain on page eight.

NEGOTIATION FROM STRENGTH

"Negotiation from strength is supposed to be the purpose of the policy. That cliché is accepted everywhere, but I doubt if anybody can explain exactly what it means. We are told, and it may well be true, that the Soviet Government possesses huge military forces far greater than our own; huge armies, great fleets of aircraft, tanks and submarines, and that in comparison we in the Western world are in a state of great military weakness. If that is so, logically the policy of negotiation from strength is a policy opposed to negotiation at the present time. Because if we were to negotiate at the present time we would be negotiating from weakness. There can be no flaw in that logic—(Laughter)—it is very obvious that hon. Gentlemen find it surprising when one tries to point out some of the realities which are involved in this phrase, so frequently used on all sides.

"If we say that we should negotiate from strength, logically we should not negotiate in weakness. But nobody in their senses would accept the proposition that we are not prepared to negotiate now.

"It was never accepted, even by the Prime Minister. He was proposing in February, 1950, that we should negotiate with the Soviet Government, but so far as the military position is concerned we were then much weaker comparatively than we are today. Therefore, what does this phrase mean? It does not give any indication of how the Government will seek a compromise and real negotiations with the rulers of the Soviet Empire."

—Michael Foot, MP, House of Commons, Nov. 19, 1951

more and more absorbed with the desire to end the war as soon as possible, but also to join in any piece of social or public work which will in any way alleviate the worry and physical suffering of those whose loved ones are killed or maimed...

"We are standing foursquare for the principle that all peoples of the world are equal in the sight of God; all wars are wars between brethren; and all evil and good comes from us as individuals."

It is not true to suggest that the advice which G.L. gave was acted upon with some misgivings. If there were members of the PPU who felt unable to accept anything but complete exemption from military service, there were many who accepted alternative service and many others who showed their agreement with G.L. by the voluntary service they tried to render.

Moreover, to suggest that G.L. did not trust his colleagues is also quite untrue, as those of us who enjoyed his close friendship know. Had George Lansbury found reason to mistrust his colleagues or disagree with them on any vital issue, it is unthinkable that being the man he was, he would have remained President of the PPU, as he did, to the day of his death.

Lansbury's pacifism

I am concerned to correct the inaccuracy of details and to suggest that Raymond Postgate has been wanting in fairness to the PPU, because by so dealing with this part of G.L.'s life, he has been unfair to George himself, and shows a want of understanding of and sympathy with his pacifism, without which it is not possible adequately to estimate the real man.

Pacifism was not an appendage to G.L.'s other activities, still less a sign of physical or mental weakness. It was an essential expression of the faith which inspired all his actions, and of every value for the recognition of which he strove throughout his whole life. He at least would never have apologised for his pacifism as his biographer seems to do.

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New books on Gandhi's India by Vera Brittain and Reginald Reynolds

On from Santiniketan

By HORACE G. ALEXANDER

Search After Sunrise, by Vera Brittain, Macmillan, 15s.

VERA BRITTAİN'S book about her journey to India in the winter of 1949-50 is a very individual book. It is none the worse for that. She is abundantly justified in insisting, against the "thirty years in Poona" type of "authority" on India, that it is often the short term visitor, provided he or she is a trained observer, who can make the most acute observation and comment.

For myself, I was eager to learn what Vera Brittain thought of India and Pakistan on her first visit.

I expected something fresh, penetrating and illuminating! I must frankly confess that I am disappointed.

Having read her book, I cannot discern the form her picture is intended to take. It seems to be a blur. Indeed, I was almost driven against my will, to see in Vera Brittain the makings of the typical mem-sahib, who cannot, and will not even try, to adjust herself to unaccustomed food, a different attitude to time, and all the rest.

*

The beginning is delightful. I loved the picture of Vera Brittain kneeling up against the open window of the train from Calcutta to Santiniketan, romantically turning all the water-buffaloes into hippopotamuses and crocodiles.

Such comments as (of her fellow-delegates to the Pacific Meeting); "I wondered why liberal opinions should so often be accom-

panied by this peculiar variety of fancy dress"; and of Indian night-life: "India does not so much cultivate night-life, as merge its days into its nights and its nights into its days"—suggest a rich store of comment in the pages to come. But the reader is disappointed. Why?

Something seems to have gone wrong. I can only conclude that, having waited for years to be allowed to attend the All-India Women's Conference, which had invited her year after year, but whose invitation she could not accept because Whitehall would not grant her visa, finally she had to attend a World Pacific Meeting which was, for her, rather a poor second best. She never felt it was her affair, she seems to have found very few of her fellow-delegates congenial, and she did not enjoy having to travel round India with other delegates who happened to have chosen the same route.

Many of her criticisms of the World Pacific Meeting are certainly justified; but she seems to forget that, for most of the Indians attending it, it was by no means "just another conference like so many more." For them it was the first ever; indeed, for India it was very nearly the first ever. So that, inevitably and rightly, the form it took had to be largely the form they gave it.

But for many, a certain disappointment with the conference itself was abundantly compensated by the rich friendships formed with men and women from all over the world—not least with the Asians and Africans and non-Anglo-Saxon Europeans, most of whom Vera Brittain ignores. No, it was not her hard work at the press table (a job she did magnificently) that cut her off from this; but, presumably, something in herself. For some of these others, Dec. 1949 has given a continuing inspiration, as their subsequent activities have demonstrated.

*

But enough of criticism. The book contains some admirable features. Vera Brittain has excellent things to say about the contribution of art and poetry to the good life (though she perhaps overlooks the melancholy fact that art, like science, can often be used destructively; some poets have been amongst the worst preachers of hatred and enmity). Some of her passages on the message of Gandhi are admirably fresh and clear, and deserve to be widely read and pondered.

Thus, she shows how his "basic education" can become a cure for most of the diseases of modern society. And she rightly points out the real significance of the spinning-wheel, not merely as an immediate palliative for India's crushing poverty, but as a symbol. And she rightly insists that Gandhi "did not object to machinery as such—what he deplored was its tyranny."

Religious Drama: The way things are shaping

By DEREK STANFORD

WRITING way back in 1913, in his informative little primer *The Religious Drama*, the late Gordon Crosse pointed out how the secular theatre—for all its atheism, its agnosticism, its Ibsens and its Shaws—was still the best exponent of "high seriousness" in drama, of moral dialectic and spiritual debate.

This, it must be remembered, was at a time when the revival of religious drama was hardly under way. *Everyman* had been presented with a certain success in 1901, and other rather simple tableau-pieces had followed. In 1911 the Morality Play Society had been established in order to produce dramas "which find their inspiration in an ideal motive," but for the main part the religious play was still too archaic or imitative.

Wanted—the right personnel

One of the reasons why religious drama still occupied this inferior position both from the point of moral intensity as well as from that of entertainment was its almost total amateur status and lack of professionals in its personnel. A set of trained or partly-trained actors, as well as playwrights conversant with their calling was something needful to it at that stage, for without these the magnetic illusion that art produces can seldom be gained.

But besides this drawback there were others impeding the appearance of "high seriousness" in situations the drama might treat of. Chief of these I would describe as the fallacy of didactic repetition, by which I refer to the tendency to go on depicting *ad nauseum* the situations present in Biblical stories or the themes employed in the mystery plays and morality plays of the Middle Ages.

What was needed was a sense of the general applicability of the ethical and spiritual content of the Gospels to any time and situation; and until the worn hand of precedent and literalism could be shaken off there was little chance of religious drama becoming an immediate issue, a poser of questions discussed in the street, the pub, or the office, with real warm interest.

This artistic weaning of religious drama from the milk of its original source, in turn demanded the coming of a creative intelligence; of the inventive state of mind rather than a "closed" didactic one. To some extent all these desiderata have now been fulfilled; and it is therefore appropriate to ask how far the transference of "high serious-

To Live in Mankind, by Reginald Reynolds. Andre Deutsch, 15s.

REGINALD REYNOLDS describes his new book as "A Quest for Gandhi." The quest is not systematic and the book falls into the travel-journal class roughly covering the author's visit to India in 1929-30 (when he contributed to Indian history by putting a comma in the famous letter that he carried from the Mahatma to the Viceroy) and his return twenty years later to attend the World Pacific Conference held, two years after Gandhi's assassination, at various centres of his village work. It is a class of literature which has inevitable disadvantages. Literary snapshots, personal reminiscence, philosophical reflections, crocodile hunts and political digressions—the result is bound to be something of a hit or miss affair—especially if one finds chronology a bit of a bore, as Reginald Reynolds gaily confesses he does.

But India seems fated for this type of treatment—perhaps its confusion and excitement can best be transmitted by the confusion and excitement of those who write about it. Certainly the author both confused and excited me. Of course he has to help him an enchanting freshness of wit and observation and again and again just as we are on the point of exasperation, he recaptures us with a quick sketch of one of those exquisite incongruities which decorate the Indian scene.

"I think I'll clean my teeth"

Reginald Reynolds' first bull's-eye, and it's certainly dead-centre, is his description of his meeting with Gandhi in 1929. One has been waiting for just this reverent reverence to convey something of the strength and the incredible charm of this most shocking of puritan saints. No-one, one feels, would have appreciated the description more than the old man himself—indeed one can imagine him laughing a little up his sleeve (if he had worn one) as he greeted this nervously earnest (and very English) recruit to his cause with a question about his bowels.

"I never knew a man who set out more deliberately not to impress people," the author writes and he tells of the Mahatma's arrest some months later in the dead of night when he was given a few minutes for anything he might want to do or say. "Thank you very much: I think I'll clean my teeth," he replied—what a come-down for his companions whom one imagines huddling round him, tearfully anxious for a last ennobling farewell!

Yet what thought and consideration he showed for these companions even in the busiest moments of an incredibly busy life. It was this deep respect for persons, this eagerness always to show them a simple, direct and homely concern, whether they

were his self-styled "enemies" or the humblest Harijan,* which won the hearts of all who met him. When he died it was like the passing of a personal friend: even if one had only met him once.

Paradoxically enough as Reginald Reynolds shows, this was due, as much as anything else, to the fact that he was basically "a very ordinary man" who had become a saint "by setting himself impossible standards." He had few natural endowments. His absurdly gnome-like appearance was almost symbolic of this—it invited affectionate laughter in which he was the first to join. "Mickey Mouse," Mrs. Naidu called him. This was his greatness. He made you feel that you were—or could be—every bit as great.

Gandhi and modern India

In the middle the quest gets sidetracked. Reginald Reynolds lunges out rather clumsily at politics in general and British politics in particular, goes crocodile hunting, visits missionaries and discourses on soil erosion, before his return to England in 1930. The last section of the book tells of his second Indian journey twenty years later.

It seemed providential that he and others attending the World Pacific Conference should have arrived just four days before Gandhi's assassins were due to be executed. Little wonder that they should have worked desperately to prevent this gruesome mockery of Gandhi's teaching in the little time that was left and even less wonder, perhaps, that their failure to do so should have depressed and saddened them.

Their indignation and concern was met by one after another of the old man's trusted, "pacifist" colleagues with the same pitifully conventional arguments with which the death sentence is usually excused. This was the author's first introduction to the new India, which the apostle of non-violence had so largely created. An introduction not made immediately more inspiring by the discovery that the government's constitution, just proclaimed amid much rejoicing, allowed them to imprison certain categories of political offenders without trial and that Tagore's university at Santiniketan (and also, I believe, some Basic Schools founded on Gandhian principles) had started military training. But other and more promising discoveries were to follow. The Ashramst were carrying on the good work of village reconstruction. The pacifist sheep were sorting themselves out from the militarist goats ("revisionists" the author deftly calls them) and the former were now sadly gathering their strength together for the hard and lonely road of patient and unspectacular opposition. At Sabarmati (Gandhi's first Ashram) the simple life now seemed no longer inimical to art. The schoolgirls danced and sang by the light of hurricane lamps. At Sevagram there was a nativity play performed almost entirely by Hindus with three Buddhist Shepherds and a Quaker St. Joseph. The local village was fast developing in self-reliance, co-operation and skill and above all there was Basic Education.

Basic Education

Basic Education was really the last major experiment of Gandhi's life, and Reginald Reynolds gives one of the first accounts of it that has yet appeared in this country outside of the pages of Peace News.

The Basic method is an attempt to educate children for a co-operative rural life rather than to make them useless for all but minor clerical posts in the nearest town.

It achieves this through training the children in crafts, agriculture and domestic husbandry and correlating all teaching, at least in the primary grades, round this training (the author does not mention the intricacies and importance of this correlation, which gives children both a feeling for the significance of their skills as well as a practical incentive to acquire knowledge: a rather serious omission this, I think).

For India "Basic" has the further advantage of helping to defray the costs of the schools. That it is essentially a sound form of education must indeed strike anyone who has seen the schools, where children give an impression of greater happiness and self-reliance as well as finding a genuine pleasure in all forms of manual service which I have never seen even remotely approached elsewhere.

Reginald Reynolds links up the Basic Education movement with the whole of Gandhi's slowly matured ideas of a decentralised non-violent economy built up of self-supporting village units subserved, where necessary, by regional industries.

No scramble for outside markets, no helpless subjection to artificial booms and slumps—his sane and practical mind saw such an economy as the only one likely to avoid the twin evils of greed and war.

India has made a tragic hash of most of his message while pretending to pay him "homage." But here and there the faithful few, who really understood, are carrying on. Sevagram is still a non-violent society in microcosm.

Since Hiroshima none of us in the West can have failed to see the writing on the wall. Miraculously the wall is still standing. Are we, too, going to refuse to read?

* Lowest caste, untouchables.

† Community Settlements for Gandhi's workers.

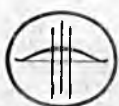
REGINALD REYNOLDS

TO LIVE IN MANKIND

A QUEST FOR GANDHI

In 1949 Mr. Reynolds attended the World Peace Conference in India. This gave him the chance of revisiting many of the places and people he had known twenty years earlier, when he first came to know and understand Gandhi. His book, which describes both journeys, traces Gandhi's influence on Indian affairs since his death. It includes the first full account of Basic Education in practice.

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*

Macmillan & Co. Ltd.

I had called myself for some years a war reporter, writes Reginald Thompson in "Cry Korea." It would be more accurate to call myself—

A reporter of death

"Cry Korea," by Reginald Thompson. MacDonald & Co., 16s.

MR. THOMPSON went to Korea as a newspaper correspondent in time to report the landing of the United Nations forces at Inchon.

He followed the armies through to the capture of Seoul, then on to Pyongyang, and in the wild drive northwards that finally brought the Chinese into the war. He watched these same armies fleeing with catastrophic losses from the Chongchon river. When his newspaper withdrew him from the scene at the beginning of this year the fight was still continuing and he had to say: "This is where I came in."

Much has happened since then. The armies have continued to and fro. But it is still: "This is where we came in."

No one can read this book honestly without recognising that the war could have been over with the first capture of Seoul or, at the least, with the taking of Pyongyang, the North Korean capital.

Indeed it seems that most people in Korea expected that when that had happened the job was done. At that stage in the book Thompson writes: "The Korean war was won. The armies of the enemy had been destroyed or captured, and further effective resistance was impossible."

The insane gamble

Why, then, did MacArthur engage in the insane gamble that brought in the Chinese? There is his fantastic egotism that kept him in a dream world protected by a guard of sycophants. Reginald Thompson does not conceal his bitterness about the ridiculous communiques and press statements MacArthur issued which bore no resemblance to the reality of the war, but served only to boost the personal reputation of the "Great Panjandrum" as he calls him.

But Thompson sums him up best when he says that "to see MacArthur clearly it is only necessary to inflate an ordinary 'GI' to outrageous proportions, and there he is." This is not so much a criticism of the American soldier as a man, but of modern mechanised warfare and the power complex to which he has become slave. In the first stage of the Korean war the American GI, like MacArthur, was drunk with the success of the mechanised weapons, plus unopposed air support, against virtually unarmed peasants. They could not stop.

They were not even good soldiers. They were "trigger happy," anxious to "get a Gook," as the North Koreans were inhumanly called. Reginald Thompson describes a GI who located the spot where a sniper was hidden. He sprayed the place with bullets. "I reckon I put sixty into it. I reckoned the bastard must be dead," he said.

New weapons destroy morale

Thompson comments: "It was another confirmation—of which the Second World War provided many—of the destruction of the soldier and his morale by these automatic weapons and uncontrolled fire. These weapons seem to induce a form of jitters in their user, for the shooter's jaws are usually chewing on the gum as he sprays without aim, using ten, twenty, thirty or more shots when one would do."

Thousands of innocent civilian Koreans have died because of this state of nerves induced by the means of mass killing. At the least sign of resistance whole villages and towns were pulverised by bombs and shells. The troops did not move forward until the tanks and planes had cleared everything away. There was no fighting in the old sense. Thompson describes in one place how a column of tanks was held up in a valley by a handful of Koreans in the hillside with two or three rifles and a mortar. Shell after shell was hurled into the hill and it was faked with machine-gun fire. The air force was brought in and went into action with rocket-bombs. There was all the din of a major battle. Yet the Koreans, carefully concealed, were only dislodged when at last a small force of infantry were sent up the hill and ended the matter in a few minutes' close fighting.

It was this reliance on blind, mass force that caused the debacle when the Chinese came in. The Americans chained to their tanks and mechanised vehicles were a sitting target for the Chinese keeping to the hills and inaccessible places. Even overwhelming air superiority could not save them. The Americans did not lack courage, but their aim then was "Let's get the hell out of here."

A complete indictment

This book, a vivid eye-witness picture of modern war, is a complete indictment of its inhumanity.

This type of warfare demands utter callousness towards all human life. To pretend it can be used in defence of decent human values is a contradiction in terms. It destroys human feelings. That is why the soldier in a jeep or a tank can quite needlessly knock down civilians or crush a peasant cottage in his way. Why, presumably, the United Nations stripped their

prisoners and made them walk naked. Why normally decent soldiers pilfered without a twinge of conscience. Why the war has gone on needlessly while more and more thousands of homeless refugees are driven to die upon the roads. The picture of the refugees is horrifying. In desperation they have been driven to the coasts and in tiny, pathetic craft to seek survival on barren islands in the sea.

Reginald Thompson has been observing warfare in different parts of the world since the first world war. He ought to be hard-bitten. Yet he says: "In these days I lost my last illusions about war. I had called myself for some years a 'war reporter.' It would be more accurate to call myself a reporter of death."

"There is no more war"

He writes: "Death comes now in ever more hideous guises, death to the unseen, the unknown multitudes, the remote communities, unaware as they go about their business of living and loving, growing things and making things. . . the great toll of civilian death in Korea has been estimated as high as two million. No one can know. . ."

"There is no more war. It is old-fashioned. It began to go out with our fathers and grandfathers. The glamour is false. The illusion is gone. The writing is on the wall in letters of blood and bits, and this is the latest message from Korea."

Yet what "principles" are they still arguing about, out there in Korea, amidst all this carnage?

DOUGLAS ROGERS

BOOKS FOR CHILDREN

By Dora Dawtry

Illustrations by Mays

GIVING presents is always a joy, but choosing them, particularly for young people, is a problem.

Very few presents give more lasting pleasure to children than do books; expensive toys may be forgotten, but books are read again and again and treasured for years. Moreover, books are reasonably cheap and there is a wide variety of choice.

In the Penguin series alone there are books to suit all ages and pockets. The Puffin Picture Books at 2s. are excellently produced and cover a variety of interests from the study of wild flowers to the making of maps. There is a child's alphabet for children of three or four and a book about woodwork for the older boy.

For the eight-year-olds and upwards there are the Puffin Story Books, at 1s. 6d. and 2s. A child could start to build a library of its own with a selection of these books. The series includes such titles as *Alice in Wonderland*, *Treasure Island*, and *Elizabeth Fry*, as well as modern adventure stories.

The Beatrix Potter books are still, perhaps, the most popular books for young children, and deservedly so, for at 3s. 6d. they are very cheap judged by today's prices and they are delightfully produced with beautiful illustrations in line and colour. The Little Grey Rabbit books (3s. 6d.) by Alison Utley can also be recommended. Children of six to eight love these stories of animal adventure, and here again the illustrations are charming.

For very young children, there is also the Blackberry Farm series (1s. 6d.) of stories, of farm animals and people, with bright and attractive illustrations. "Ameliaranne" is another favourite with young children. This is a series of stories, delightfully illustrated, about a little girl, one of a large family, who endears herself to all by her cheerfulness, courage and kindness in every situation.

The books of A. A. Milne probably need no more than a mention. Little children love the rhymes in *When We Were Very Young*, and *Now We Are Six*. *Winnie the Pooh* and *The House at Pooh Corner* are stories which children will read or listen to many times with great enjoyment. They are 5s. each.

Two famous anthologies of poems and rhymes—*Magic Lanterns* (7s. 6d.) for young children and *Stars and Primroses* (6s.) for the over eights, both selected by M. C. Green, are hand lettered and decorated in colour throughout. They are examples of first class book production and serve as very good introductions to the appreciation of poetry.

For the 8 to 11-year-olds, the John and Mary Books (7s. 6d.) relate a series of everyday adventures of two ordinary children. They are well written, lively and interesting.

Peace News readers frequently ask for the titles of children's books which will help to a better understanding of the peoples of other lands. The *Twins* series (6s. each) by Lucy Fitch Perkins, illustrated by the author, fills the need very well. Each tells in a gay and interesting manner of life in other lands, and the titles include *The Eskimo Twins*, *The Chinese Twins*, and *The Indian Twins*.

Probably the most popular books for

I SUPPOSE that I may claim to be a limited pacifist, my pacifism being confined to inter-war periods of peace. During the last two wars I chose the path of non-resistance to evil by entering without putting up a fight the fighting services of my king and country.

I may also suppose that this is the attitude of most people everywhere. The third world war, should it break out, will no longer be caused by mutual fear, but by mutual hope forlorn that the other side can go on indefinitely pinning their hopes on the essential innocence of an attitude, evinced on both sides, of piling up armaments merely to negotiate peace from strength. Even then, most people everywhere will prove pacifists to the extent of preferring not to fight their own armed services but joining the colours and hoping for the best.

Can writers do anything about it? This question may best be answered by inquiring if they have ever been able to do anything about it.

Anatole France considered that, since there was not a nation that had not polluted itself by all sorts of crimes and suffered every possible humiliation, a war in vindication of national honour was the most ludicrous of all excuses, especially as it was to be attempted by committing all the crimes by which a private person notoriously dishonours himself. But when the 1914 war broke out Anatole France offered at his advanced age to enlist as a private soldier in the French Army, prompted to this decision by an overflow of indignation at an intransigent Germany.

Thomas Mann, prompted by an opposite sense of indignation, wrote: "For now it is war!" and, far from wishing to do anything about it, spoke of the hearts of poets standing in flame, than which "nothing better, more beautiful, happier could befall them in the whole world."

Rupert Brooke wrote: "Now God be thanked Who has matched us with His hour" and, ignoring the criminal implications of national sovereignties juxtaposed in a precarious balance of power which, when upset, translates negotiations from strength into killing by taking a mean advantage of the suffering unit placed in a situation of weakness, declared that honour had come back into the world again.

Anton Chekov quoted with approval from the writings of a mediaeval Orthodox bishop likening a standing army to a locust-swarm leaving desert where it passes. But he wrote gaily to a friend apropos of the Russo-Japanese War flaring up overnight in the very year he died: "Are you going to the war? I'd like to." Knowing himself to be very ill, he yet imagined such a trip as full of interesting human material, were he to join up as a doctor.

How can writers, who by virtue of their sensibility and human loyalty cannot keep aloof from their fellows save after the event, hope to influence foreign policy? "Foreign policy" is in itself as anomalous and absurd as, say, an external policy with personal representation in one another's flats pursued among tenants of a block of flats—a "foreign policy" foreign alike to human nature and good sense and that can but disrupt the natural privacy otherwise taken for granted. "Interventionism"—a fine state of affairs! So much for foreign affairs.

However, assuming that some flats included writers, there would be no reason to suppose that they, as students of human nature, should prove more reasonable than other tenants in forgoing their grievances. The writers, under this arrangement, would be as quick as soldiers to take offence and jeopardise their rights to privacy by mobilising allies, utterly unaware or what one might think has stared all foreign ministers in the face—that two and more can play at the same game.

The landlord in this analogy would stand for that supernatural authority which always founders when it is merely international. Who, then, is qualified to form this supernatural authority? A body of statesmen, owing to their signal failure to avert war, inspires contempt. A body of generals, owing to their readiness to take war for granted without prejudice to a peaceful death in their own beds, provokes derision. A body of writers, collectively but a parody on politicians, arouses distaste. One can well guess what Blake meant when he said: "Princes appear to me to be fools; Houses of Commons and Houses of Lords appear to me to be fools. They seem to be something else besides human life."

What about an individual writer? Assuming a writer to be a thinker whose words are productive of illumination, Christ might be said to be the greatest of all writers; whose influence on government foreign policy, however, has proved to be nil. Tolstoy, who restated the stark incumencies of the New Testament and preached non-resistance, was ignored by the imperial government and absorbed as a cultural national asset for stiffening resistance against the invader by the Communist government of his country. But Gandhi, who absorbed Tolstoy, succeeded by reversing the practice of the Christian Churches: he dropped foreign policy and took up Christ.

Pacifism, however, as a protest has not proved effective in stopping a war, merely stopping the already converted individual from doing injury to his own conscience. Moreover, conscientious objection does not seem to extend beyond one conflict of conscience. All men are unanimously for peace; they differ merely as to the occasion upon which they might deem it necessary to pull the trigger. Lloyd George, who was a pacifist in the Boer War, was for fighting to a finish in 1918. Bertrand Russell, a pacifist in the first world war, became progressively less pacific in the second, and virulently so in respect of the hypothetical third.

The solution would seem to lie in what I might designate as the Negative Vote. On the previous analogy of a block of flats, it would not require a majority agreement among tenants to prohibit a generally accepted nuisance—such as playing the gramophone after midnight. One negative vote is sufficient to stop the nuisance. An admitted nuisance such as war should similarly be subject to the sanction of that potential third chamber, which unlike either the Lower or the Upper House need have no place of assembly. It should be stipulated that a war requires the total sanction of the entire population of the earth. Which means that one vote against it must render war inoperative, and therefore not worth the trouble of preparation.

(Copyright)

older children are those by Arthur Ransome (9s. each). They include *Peter Duck*, *Swallows and Amazons*, and *We Didn't Mean to Go to Sea*. All children love adventure and

most children love boats, for what child has not sailed away to an unknown land in imagination? These books provide all the adventure any imaginative child could desire. They are excellently produced

and a delight to possess. There is an increasing interest amongst young people in the wild life of the countryside and many books have appeared to foster this. The Young Naturalist series is designed to provide information about the wild life of the country and also to encourage children to find out more for themselves. The *Getting to Know* series at 10s. 6d. each, including such titles as *Wild Flowers*, and *Birds*, is also admirable for older children interested in these subjects. In the "Out with Romany" books children can read about the walks and interesting things revealed through the eyes of Romany and his dog, once well known on the radio.

A recently published series for young people who enjoy making and doing things for themselves is the "Junior Teach Yourself" series. These are 6s. each and include *Needlework*, *Cookery*, *Carpentry* and *Stamp Collecting*.

An outstanding children's book of the year is *The Lark on the Wing*, by Elfrida Vipont (8s. 6d.) which should have a special appeal to Peace News readers in view of its Quaker background.

It is important that the world's classics should be introduced to young people in an attractive form. Fortunately there are many editions of the best literature of this and other countries. Dents have published a number specially for children, which are of a high standard and well illustrated at 8s. 6d. each. They include *Swiss Family Robinson*, *Grimm's Fairy Tales*, *Black Beauty*, and *Coral Island*. Collins' "Pocket Classics" at 4s. (or 5s.—with superior bindings) can also be recommended. Their titles include *David Copperfield*, *Tom Brown's School Days*, *Adventures of Pinnocchio*, *Lorna Doone*, *Children of the New Forest*, *Water Babies*, etc. The "Everyman" and "World's Classics" series are well known and hundreds of titles in each series are available at 5s. each.

Two books for the 12-16 age group by Annabel Williams-Ellis are recommended—*Good Citizens* and *Men Who Found Out*. They are 7s. 6d. each and contain short biographies of scientists, artists and reformers who through their resourcefulness and courage have benefitted mankind. The author shows that the lives of such people as Galileo, Thomas More or Florence Nightingale can be as interesting as those of kings and soldiers, and more truly great in their enrichment of human life.

There is no space to mention all the books that come to mind, but it is hoped that the suggestions given will help parents and others in their search for the right present for their young people.



Difficulties older than democracy

"Restatement of Liberty," by P. Gordon Walker. Hutchinson, 21s.

MR. PATRICK GORDON WALKER in this book attempts a theoretical justification of the "welfare state" as it was conceived by the Labour Government.

One has the feeling that it originated in two separate books, one the work of an Oxford don, the other a pamphlet produced by a member of the Government; the mixture is not altogether happy.

The part written by the history tutor elaborates the thesis that our trouble began with the intellectual revolution of the 16th century, when the habit (associated with Descartes) of thinking of man as an uneasy partnership between an intelligible body and a mysterious soul required men to choose on which part to base their political practice.

Either, with Hobbes, they could regard life as "but a motion of limbs" and build a scientific tyranny; or, with Locke, they could advocate the atomising of society in the belief that if each man acts from internal motives even private vices will become public virtues.

But the choice was unreal, in that however Cartesian man chose he ended in totalitarianism, since even Lockean individualism palpably failed to achieve peaceful social development equally open to all.

How then escape the dilemma? By stating the nature and needs of men in other than Cartesian terms. In principle this amounts to eschewing Utopianism, recognising the "wicked world," and working not for the best in individuals but for the "better society."

This work can only be done by the machine which society fashions for the purpose, namely the State, which shall both stimulate and direct the "social energy" requisite for development. The most powerful untapped source of this energy is to be found in the working class, whose expression of social feeling has so far been inhibited and deformed.

At this point the member of the Government takes over. The application of these principles appears to be exactly the policy of the Labour governments since 1945, and we are treated to a justification of the governments' policies towards unofficial strikes, to plans for European federation, to defence and to the pacifism in the Labour party's ranks.

The total effect of the book is curious. That the great movements set going in the 16th century were at last held up and controlled by Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker and his colleagues is a startling claim.

Perhaps the difficulties are older than Descartes and do not submit to the finest intellects of any political party.

Pacifists are arraigned in this book as "treasonable clerks" for their alleged submission to violence; but there is treason of a very dangerous order in claiming certain knowledge where none is possible.

H. S. A. SMITH

This WAR Business

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"DEAREST DAVID" AND INDIA

By ETHEL MANNIN

IN the autumn of 1921 the young man whom for a short time we were to know as King Edward VIII made his first State visit to India. This remarkably illuminating story is told with a quite astonishing naïveté in his very readable Memoirs,* and it is of special interest to pacifists because of his comments on Gandhi.

He begins by telling us that his knowledge of "that great subcontinent" had been "largely coloured by childhood memories of the Kitmagars who had pushed Queen Victoria's wheelchair, and the bearded Sikhs who had marched in my grandfather's Coronation procession, and more recently by the Indian troops I had seen in the war." To this his father added his own kingly impressions.

King George V did not altogether approve his son's technique of "informal approach" in carrying out his Commonwealth missions, and warned him that India was an entirely different proposition—"What went down well with the white people in those three Dominions will not go down at all in India." He was therefore to do exactly as instructed by the British civil and military authorities in India, for, said his father, "They know best."

He was further advised to have a talk with the retired Indian Civil Servant, Sir Walter Lawrence, who had been his father's Chief of Staff in India during the 1905 tour. Sir Walter explained the complicated cast system and the position of the princes, and urged the young man to learn Urdu.

The Prince set out "in a mood of eager anticipation." The East had always fascinated him, and he "longed to explore the lands that lay beyond the Red Sea." But he wondered, "how would Mahatma Gandhi and his radical Congress Party react to my visit? Would he try to spoil my show?"

He goes on to add, "In Government circles this sworn enemy of British rule, with his loin cloth, his spinning-wheel, his fasting, his public burning of British cloth, his campaign of 'non-co-operation' with the Government of India, was regarded as a sinister if somewhat ludicrous figure."

To anyone who ever knew Gandhi the word "sinister" in connection with him must seem as ludicrous as his *dhoti* did to the Prince of Wales.

A "hartal" was staged for the day of the Prince's arrival—in his words people were "ordered" to stay indoors and drape

their houses with black bunting "as evidence of their desire to be free of British rule." The Prince and his staff therefore steamed into the harbour of Bombay with some misgivings, fearful of "empty streets, insulting placards, and perhaps even acts of violence."

The ruling Princes or their sons turned out in all their silken finery to join with the Viceroy and the Governor of the Bombay Presidency to greet the Prince, "And beyond them... masses of Indians... stretching as far as the eye could reach..."

On the State drive through the streets, "Happily Gandhi's hartal was only partially successful. Despite his orders to his followers, there were thousands of Indians in the streets... And there came from them a sound such as I have never elsewhere heard issue from human lips—not so much a cheer as an immense murmur of delight, punctuated by the rippling sounds of the hand-clapping that is the Oriental customary sign of approval."

Despite this, however, "the situation was not lacking in tension. As a result of his call to the natives to boycott my visit, the Mahatma had stirred up the hooligan elements of Bombay, which began to terrorise the crowds gathered in the streets to see me. From Government House, one could hear the sounds of distant rioting and occasional shots. Be it said to Gandhi's credit that he tried to stop the disturbances by personal appeals to his followers. But he was too late... Most of the fighting was, as usual, communal strife between Hindus and Moslems; but apparently both sects attacked the Parsees and Indian Christians in what became a general *melee*... The police had to fire on the mob to restore order."

Interesting in this passage is His Royal Highness's use of the word "native"—someone should have explained to him that, in the words of Hermione Gingold, "India is called India because the Indians live there."

Interesting, too, the use of the word "sect" to differentiate between two totally different religions. Someone should also have explained to him that the Parsees, because of their business acumen, which has resulted in their becoming called "The Jews of India," and the Indian Christians because of their social-snobbish superiority and their tendency to identify themselves with the British, were never popular—nor are they now.

The Prince's retinue numbered "at least 100 European and Indians." Three special trains were required to transport "this small army around India": there was "an elaborate special train" for himself and his personal staff and baggage, a pilot train for the press and travelling post-office, and a train for the landaus and carriage horses for the State drives.

An idea of the style in which he travelled, he naively tells us, may be gathered from the fact that no matter where he was his postal address was simply "Prince of Wales Camp, India." (Well, well, I once received a letter addressed simply "Ethel Mannin, Somewhere, England." HRH, all too clearly, doesn't know the facts-of-life).

(To be concluded next week.)

The New World

Civitas Dei, by Lionel Curtis. George Allen & Unwin, 30s.

CIVITAS DEI is an inquiry at considerable length, one might perhaps say an inordinate length, into the whence and whither of Man as a social animal. Originally issued in three volumes before the war, the present edition is a revised version of the 1938 one volume edition brought up-to-date.

As a complete work it lacks coherence, and some of the later chapters read like separate essays, with much written in the first person singular. The author roves through history with a particular eye to progress in social responsibility, which he attributes largely to revealed religion.

His political ideal is the Commonwealth in which every man is conscious of his duty to his fellows, and performs it, being thus true to the revealed will of God.

Because of his faith, the author is an optimist, seeing the old vision of a Kingdom of God materialising ultimately in a World Commonwealth, which is his version of World Federal Government. He appreciates that we may yet be a long way from this goal, and in the meantime one or more International Commonwealths will come into being to carry us further along our destined road.

It is a pity that Mr. Curtis has not devoted more space to the portrayal of the International Commonwealth as he sees it, both in its internal and external structure. This would have provided us with a much needed key to the interpretation of his apocalypse.

HUGH J. SCHONFIELD

AN OLD CRIME

The Katyn Wood Murders, by Joseph MacKiewicz. Hollis and Carter, 15s.

WHO murdered the Polish officers, taken prisoner by Russia in 1939 and unearthen by the Germans in mass graves in 1943? Soviet Russia and Nazi Germany both accused each other of the crime.

The present book is a statement of the case against the Soviet Union, not an attempt to weigh the evidence impartially without preconceived notions. Nevertheless this case, though marred by its Polish author's melodramatic style, his journalistic embellishments and questionable political judgments, demands attention and certain points have never been satisfactorily explained by the other side.

The growing acceptance in influential circles in the "West" of the opinions put forward in this book is indeed only one more example of the uncertainties of power politics and the delusions of war propaganda.

P.B.

Disarmament

Guns or Butter, The Economics of Disarmament. The National Council Against Conscription. Washington, USA, 5 cents.

ENLIVENED by bright little drawings and in simple and forceful language, this leaflet maintains that the continued expansion of armaments gives an immediate illusion of prosperity but, in fact, must lead eventually to inflation and ruin. But a programme of disarmament, it contends, although perhaps giving rise to economic difficulties at first, could, if linked to a big aid scheme, produce prosperity for America and the rest of the world. At the same time it would defend democracy far more surely than armaments could ever do.

Some Christmas gift books from Housmans

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The Concise Oxford Dictionary	15s. 6d.
The Little Oxford Dictionary	3s. 6d.

The Penguin Song Book LESLIE WOODGATE	4s. 6d.
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Jeremy Fisher, Peter Rabbit, Jemima Puddleduck, etc. BEATRIX POTTER	3s. 6d.
Little Grey Rabbit, Wise Owl's Story, etc. ALLISON UTLEY	3s. 6d.
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* "A King's Story" (Cassells, 25s.).

Harlequin's advice

Colombine, by Reginald Arkell. Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd., 2s. 6d.
The Trojan Women of Euripides. A new dramatic translation by F. Kinchin Smith. Sidgwick and Jackson Ltd., 3s. 6d. (cloth, 5s.).

OUT of these materials, grotesquely incongruous as they would have been in many hands, Mr. Arkell has wrought a tiny drama, subtle, unsubstantial and as vital as the downland harebells which fade at a breath, and return spring after spring for a man's lifetime.

Those are the words of a forgotten critic, written in 1911, the year in which Colombine was first printed. The fact that they are true is borne out by the publication of this pocket-sized book, the third edition of Mr. Arkell's "little fantasy," and by the words of one of his chief characters, Harlequin:

"Fighting is going out of fashion," Harlequin boldly declares. "The whole trend of modern thought is opposed to it... None of the best people do it... Arbitration is the thing nowadays... You each talk until you are out of breath, and the one with the most breath wins."

Moral of the whole play, which is so short that it can be read in the Underground between Leicester Square and Finchley, those words are as applicable now as they were 40 years ago. They, and the play, could have been written yesterday.

Mr. Kinchin Smith, translator of The Trojan Women of Euripides, has been head of the Classical Department at the University of London Institute of Education since 1934, and is interested in new methods of teaching classics to those with no knowledge of Greek.

R.D.

Publications received

The Right to Dig, by W. J. Gibson (Gibsonian Publications, 94 Dundonald Road, Wimbledon, 2s. 6d.), outlines the development of the plot holders' movement, the National Allotments and Gardens Society, and sets out the case for the allotment holder.

When Peacocks Called, by Hilda Seligman (Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay, Rs 8), a novel of ancient India. The author states: "with a pen of iron Asoka engraved the law of non-violence on pillar and rock in words that bridge the ages with a clarion call of courage and truth." Sufism, by A. J. Arberry (Allen and Unwin, 8s. 6d.), an account of the mystics of Islam.

Girls and Stations, by Terence Greenidge (Fortune Press, 7s. 6d.), a book of "pure railway poetry."

Democracy and Diplomacy

By HAROLD BING, F.R.Hist.S.

THERE is a widespread belief that diplomats are wicked individuals who enter into secret agreements which involve innocent peoples in periodic wars.

This belief made "secret diplomacy" a favourite theme of denunciation by popular orators during the period of World War I and led to President Wilson giving it pride of place in his scheme for a new world.

Number one of his famous Fourteen Points ran:

"Open covenants of peace openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind, but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."

This found its expression in article 18 of the Covenant of the League of Nations:

"Every treaty or international engagement entered into hereafter by any member of the League shall be forthwith registered with the Secretariat and shall as soon as possible be published by it. No such treaty or international engagement shall be binding until so registered."

It will be noticed that this refers to publicity of Treaties and not to the preceding negotiations. Indeed in view of the way the Big Three had secretly produced the Treaty of Versailles they could hardly have insisted on more.

Nevertheless it might well have seemed that, by and large, by 1919 the devil of secret diplomacy had been exorcised, and that the peace loving democracies might sleep quietly in their beds.

Out of such sleep however they were soon rudely awakened. True, some secret diplomacy continued, e.g. that between Britain and Italy in 1925 concerning the possible future partition of Abyssinia. True also that some of the democracies proved to be less peace-loving than they liked to be thought—and many of them a good deal less democratic than they pretended. Nevertheless the experiment in the conduct of foreign affairs by international public debate had disappointing results.

When democracies get wrong-headed

In 1938 Lord Lothian who, at the time of his death was British Ambassador to the United States, declared in an address to the Royal Institute of International Affairs:

"Believe me, democracies can get as wrong-headed about foreign affairs as anybody else, especially after having been influenced for four years by war-time propaganda."

"Democratic Diplomacy" certainly did not prevent World War II and since that tragedy we have had more of it than ever. The United Nations has provided an outstanding illustration of "public negotiation": speeches of propaganda and mutual denunciation which increase rather than lessen differences and antagonisms.

Having made claims or asserted rights, the representatives of sovereign states find it difficult if not impossible to make concessions with a view to reaching agreement for fear of "losing face" or being thought to show weakness.

But the whole basis of negotiation is mutual concession and accommodation of conflicting claims by a process of reasonable compromise or "give and take." The modern technique of "public debate negotiation" seems to make this impossible, even though, and perhaps because, the speeches

are made for the benefit of the "democracies" at home rather than to further business in hand.

"Secret diplomacy" again?

But does that mean that we ought to go back to "secret diplomacy"? It is certainly undemocratic that peoples should be committed to policies without their consent. What is the solution?

The difficulty has arisen largely because we have confused policy and negotiation. The broad lines of policy should be democratically decided. The detailed expression of that policy in agreements is a job for professional diplomats; that is, for experts who are trained in the technicality and legal implications of treaty procedure and phraseology.

Where extreme precision of wording is required the quiet of the study is preferable to the heat of the Debating Chamber. Lack of precise wording leads only to subsequent accusations of bad faith (e.g. the Yalta agreements).

When the treaties have been drawn up and initialled their ratification should take place only when they have received democratic endorsement through parliament or a referendum.

But even this procedure has its difficulties as illustrated by the failure of the U.S. Senate to approve the Treaty of Versailles. This prevented America joining the League of Nations. The Senate as a whole was not opposed to America joining the League of Nations—but some wanted the Treaty altered in one direction and some in another, so that on the votes taken the necessary majority was never reached. For a very readable and entirely reliable exposition of the whole subject of diplomacy, one cannot do better than consult Harold Nicholson's little book.*

What are our commitments?

An intelligent democracy, intelligently represented, is obviously the necessary complement in an expert diplomatic service. But here again we are in difficulties.

Where shall we find a really well educated and intelligent democracy? And further, what do we mean by democracy? Probably no word is more loosely used. Do we mean representative government or majority rule, or individual liberty or political equality or what? Do we mean merely that the majority of the people approve the government in power, which is a very different thing from "government by the people"? Is government by the people practicable anyway? Particularly in foreign affairs, can the 20 million electors of this country construct a foreign policy?

There is obviously much need for rethinking our conception of democracy. Here Ivor Brown's commonsense discussion in everyday language is a stimulus to thought and a help to clarification of ideas.†

Finally no democracy can complain of the results of the foreign policy pursued in its name if it does not take the trouble to keep itself informed as to the commitments which are being entered into in its name.

One cannot expect the masses to do this. The language of treaties is unintelligible to them, but the better educated members of political and religious and particularly of pacifist organisations have a special responsibility to the community in this respect. They should acquire and pass on the information.

What are we committed to by the Brussels treaty, the Dunkirk treaty, the North Atlantic Treaty, etc? What has the USA undertaken in respect of foreign aid and on what conditions? These and other contemporary documents of international importance have been published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs and should be widely studied.§

* Harold Nicholson: *Diplomacy* (2nd edition) Home University Library. 5s.

† Ivor Brown: *The Meaning of Democracy*. Duckworth 7s. 6d.

§ Documents on European Recovery and Defence, March 1947-April 1949, Royal Institute of International Affairs, 8s. 6d.

THE ANSWER TO WAR

By Dr. A. K. JAMESON

We Say "No," by Dick Sheppard. John Murray, 1935. (Available from Housmans Bookshop), 4s.

AS this book was written in 1935 it deals to some extent with problems as they existed then: e.g., The League of Nations, Collective Security, Sanctions, etc. Those parts of it are now out of date, but most of it is of perennial application, being concerned with fundamental principles.

The author sums up his attitude in his Preface as follows:

"Pacifism seems to me to be common sense. But I believe that war is not merely foolish, it is also wicked. This book has been written primarily from the standpoint of the Christian, who holds that war is contrary to the spirit and teaching of Our Lord. I am aware that many good Christians, while they abhor war, consider that it may yet be permissible and even necessary in certain circumstances. I have endeavoured in these pages to convince them of their error."

And indeed to anyone who can bring an open mind to the question, he must seem to have demolished completely all arguments from texts, whether in the New or the Old Testament, which churchmen have tried to twist into giving sanction for war in any circumstances whatsoever.

The fact that there is still war is the fault of us all; we want peace without being willing to pay the price for it. And it is the fault particularly of all Christian men and women because they have been unwilling to accept the practical implications of Christianity. We have said that peace is not our business but that of the politicians; we have handed the job to them and they have evolved schemes which make war automatic in certain eventualities, hoping that by so doing they will prevent these eventualities from arising. They may be sincere in wanting peace, but they have no faith in the sincerity of the other fellow and are hypnotised by the Devil's paradox: "If you want peace, prepare for war."

Nor are schemes for World Government effective so long as these are based on the use of force. For there is nothing to guarantee that harmony will always prevail among the nations represented in the World Government. The component elements will be of very different size and importance and it may well be that the World Government would become dominated by one or two great powers to the detriment of the smaller powers, or that the great powers would split into two equally strong and bitterly opposed groups. (A remarkable forecast of what has actually occurred.) In either case there might well be civil war within the World Government, as there was in that former World Government, the Roman Empire.

Mere reduction of armaments is no solution because the few allowed to remain can be made so efficient that they would be as destructive as the previous many less efficient. (Again we have seen the shrewdness of this forecast with the development of the Atom and the Hydrogen bombs.) Also if arms factories are allowed to remain in being they can be very quickly expanded to any extent.

The only way to secure peace is to renounce absolutely the use of force and to disarm unconditionally.

War is the result of certain international factors and those who say that unilateral disarmament would invite invasion and subjection fail to realise that the very fact of one nation's disarming completely alters the international state of affairs and the conditions which cause war. It would have profound repercussions and might well set in motion a chain of events which would lead to universal disarmament.

Other chapters deal with special kinds of

wars, such as colonial wars, the class war, revolutionary wars, etc., and show how in these, as in the great wars of history, the benefits they are supposed to confer could well have been obtained by peaceful means which would have avoided the destruction, loss of life, and damage to the souls of men which are the inevitable result of the use of violence.

The book ends with an "invitation to a circus" in which great personalities—Einstein, H. G. Wells, Bertrand Russell, Gandhi, Tagore, George Lansbury, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Pope himself, are among those mentioned—would join together, thus multiplying manifold their individual efforts, to conduct in person a world-wide crusade for peace. "I know, of course, that it is only a dream. But I believe that we must have the courage of our dreams. It was a dream that sent Our Lord along the road to Calvary. It was a dream that sent St. Paul out to preach to the Gentiles. A dream that changed the world."

NEUTRALISM

Neutralism in France and Germany, by Marina Salvin. International Conciliation, June, 1951, No. 472, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

NEUTRALISM, in the opinion of the author of this booklet, appears to be a mildly malignant growth on the body politic of some European nations caused by the constant irritation of pressure from Russia and, more especially, from the United States of America.

That, however, is a purely negative way of looking at a movement, the positive implications of which Miss Salvin is unable, or unwilling, to consider.

It is surely doing less than justice to the idea of neutrality to suggest that it is merely an attempt to run away from two hostile giants, the embrace of each of which seems equally distasteful, and never even to look at the possibility of its being a courageous attempt to find a third and independent way.

To those who wish to be briefly introduced to the personalities and different trends of thought in the neutralist movement in France the booklet may give useful information.

The chapter on Germany is, however, less rewarding. There the author admittedly has had no personal contact with the movement and relies more on hearsay, not always fairly balanced, and on quotations from the writings of some of the exponents of neutralism, like Professor Noack and others. H.K.

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A PEACEMAKER

Marion Fox, Quaker. Edited by Herbert C. Fox. Allen and Unwin, 12s 6d.

"MARION FOX, Quaker" is the title of a collection of letters which should be read by every lover of peace, for they are a revealing record of a life devoted to the task of reconciliation.

Marion Charlotte Fox was born in 1861 and died in 1949. She grew up with her four brothers and sisters in the pleasant atmosphere of a Quaker family of the Victorian Age.

They had sufficient means to travel and develop interests in music, literature, and art, a large circle of relatives and friends, and a solid foundation of Christian faith and practice.

The death of her mother in 1908 and of her father in January, 1915, left Marion Fox without home duties in the first World war. She threw herself into the task of alleviating the distress of German people in England, and became Honorary Secretary of the Friends Emergency Committee for Innocent Enemy Aliens.

Two days after peace was signed Marion Fox with three other Quakers went to Germany on a mission of reconciliation, taking with them packets of food, clothing and other necessities allowed by the occupying authorities, which were called "Liebes-

gaben". She not only brought love gifts, but in all her visits to Germany which continued until 1938, she brought love itself to darkened homes and despairing souls.

The task of reconciliation was not easy in 1919. The continuing Food Blockade and later the Ruhr Occupation caused deep distress. Marion Fox did what she could to help, pleading with officials, and sending home valuable reports, as well as distributing relief. Her letters give a striking picture of the misery caused by war, its futility and senselessness. This is relieved by flashes of humour and appreciation of natural beauty, above all by a faith in God and man which reveal a most attractive personality. As time went on the circle of correspondents widened until it reached round the world, so the letters, which are very sympathetically edited by her brother Hubert, record many and varied interests.

During the Hitler terror Marion Fox often acted as hostess at the Quaker Home of Rest for Nazi victims at Bad Pyrmont, an old Quaker centre with a Friends Meeting House where her grandmother had worshipped a hundred years earlier. Her later visits to Germany were largely devoted to building up the little Quaker community, and so establishing permanent links of love and understanding.

Surely of her it may be said: "Blessed are the peacemakers for they shall be called the children of God."

MARIAN E. PARMOOR

To be or not to be . . .

By JOHN HOYLAND

New Hopes for a Changing World, by Bertrand Russell. Allen and Unwin, 9s. 6d. (Paper cover 5s.).

BERTRAND RUSSELL'S book—a reconstruction of broadcast lectures—contains a powerful diagnosis of the mood of frivolous misery coupled with nightmare fear in which poor humanity now finds itself.

He has scarcely one good word to say concerning the Communist attempt to find a solution for our desperate problems in a planned economy which will not need ever-increasing arms drives to keep off economic ruin. Indeed he is frequently frankly belligerent in his attitude to Russia.

His own pet panacea is birth-control, which he apparently believes to be the one known method of checking over-population. It is extraordinary that so intelligent and far-sighted a thinker should still believe over-population to be the main cause of war—are the United States or Russia over-populated?

But it is even more extraordinary that he does not even seem to have heard of the fact—for it is a fact—that over-population, whether in whole nations or in classes within these nations, is automatically checked with a rise of the standard of life.

The way to check the fantastic increase of the Indian population, for instance, is not the grotesquely impossible project of wholesale education in the methods of contraception, but the implementing of President Truman's plans for World Aid, as powerfully pressed home recently by Senator McMahon, Mr. Reuther, Sir Richard Acland and many others.

When we begin to be ashamed of the fact that the Christian nations are the well-fed nations, and to take appropriate action, the spectre of over-population will rapidly disappear.

Bertrand Russell is disappointing in another more important respect. He feels that federal world government is bound to be weak—is it especially weak in the half-worlds of America and Russia.

He declares categorically that the substitution of order for anarchy in international relations will have to come through the superior military power of one nation or group of nations.

"When a single government for the world, embodying the military supremacy of some nation or group of nations, has been in power for a century or so, it will begin to command that degree of respect that will make it possible to base its power upon law and sentiment rather than upon force; and when that happens, the international government can become democratic."

This is pessimism in *excelsis*. It is more than that. It is a death-wish; for Bertrand Russell has not minced matters in pointing out the risk that the Third War—through which alone he apparently conceives his military world-government as able to be set up—may very probably mean the annihilation of humanity.

Has the most distinguished of British philosophers nothing more cheering than this to say to the need of our time? Has Bertrand Russell no deeper faith than that in democracy, in federalism, in the great movements for the freeing of the human spirit in which he has taken so manful a part, above all in the Gandhi-method of righting wrong? For many years he led us as a stalwart pacifist. Is he a leader so utterly lost as this?

His book is written with sparkling wit, which frequently shows a definitely mordant quality.

"Washington has to decide how much irritation in Detroit is less harmful to the United States than the bankruptcy of the British Government."

"You must not assassinate your leading competitor; this form of competition is the prerogative of the State."

"Although Roosevelt saved the American business men from ruin, they continued to curse him and to speak of him as 'the madman of the White House'."

"I do not suppose that America would contribute to this work (birth-control), because if either party favoured it, that party would lose the Catholic vote in New York State, and therefore the Presidency."

"The moral law enjoins that you must love your neighbour, but not your neighbour's wife."

Why, incidentally, is poor King Solomon given twice as many wives as in the Biblical account?

There are many excellent things in this book, especially with regard to the necessity for a wholesale change of mental attitude ('repentance' was the old word for this, but what do words matter?), and with regard to the necessity of security and an ordered routine for the education of young children, and the pernicious effects of scholarship-hunting on older children; also with regard to the need for a universal pooling (and scrapping) of arms. But one rises discouraged and alarmed from the study of "New Hopes for a Changing World."

If Bertrand Russell, using the vast power of modern broadcasting, can fling his once-pacifist ideals to the winds so recklessly, what can save us lesser men from a like melancholy jettisoning of truth? What except a faith anchored on something more secure than contraception?

GEORGE LANSBURY

By VERA BRITAIN

The Life of George Lansbury, by Raymond Postgate. Longmans, Green, 21s.

GEORGE LANSBURY belongs to a small minority of Christian statesmen who spent a lifetime in politics without losing their faith or compromising their principles. Born in 1859, he died in May, 1940, two days before the Nazis invaded Holland and Belgium.

Apart from vague references to official duties and the Home Guard, his son-in-law and biographer does not explain why he and his publishers decided that work on this book should be postponed till after the war. The reason, I suspect, was "G.L.'s" unashamed pacifism; no holder of such beliefs is justly estimated in wartime. From this standpoint delay was probably wise, but Lansbury's pacifist opinions are treated so discreetly that for half the book they are recognisable only from quiet items of internal evidence. We learn, for example, on page 116 that G.L. tried in about 1911 to adjourn the House of Commons on the prosecution of Tom Mann and the Bowman brothers for publishing and selling "Don't Shoot" leaflets addressed to soldiers.

For readers who remember any fraction of the period covered by Lansbury's life this book is as absorbing as a first-rate novel, but it tells the story of a man's part in history rather than the history of a man. It has more in common with 19th century biography, which concentrated on external, than with modern studies which emphasise insight and spiritual growth. For sheer goodness and the capacity to inspire others with love and trust, George Lansbury was equalled only by Dick Sheppard, the inspired exponent of a less ruthless profession. But once the early obscure years are past, we learn little of his spiritual struggles and close personal relationships.

Fortunately there are exceptions to a type of treatment which the author appears to have chosen deliberately. One is the moving account of G.L.'s months in hospital after breaking his thigh, an accident indirectly due to overwork following his wife's death in 1933. The unexpected consequence of this enforced rest was "a deepening of his religious belief."

"In his long anxious nights he arrived slowly at an assurance that he was himself both a part and an instrument of a power that he could not and did not need to define, though he called it God."

Another exception is the account of his close relations with his junior colleague Stafford Cripps; their correspondence has survived the loss which befell so many of Lansbury's letters owing to sheer lapse of time. Cripps, another sincere Christian, "was as much a disciple as a colleague." Thirty years younger than G.L., he looked to him for inspiration and found it.

TOO MANY MOUTHS

By ROBERT GREACEN

Human Fertility: The Modern Dilemma, by Robert C. Cook. Gollancz, 21s.

THERE are nearly 2½ billion human beings on this earth and the total is increasing by some 68,000 every twenty-four hours.

The increase is not, of course, distributed equally over the earth's surface. In the teeming countries of Asia the problem of over-population finds its most acute expression.

This rampant fertility raises the immediate question of how so many mouths are to be fed, especially since the soil itself, in too many parts of the world, has been raped in the scramble for quick returns.

Arable land (averaging 2 per cent. of the total land area) works out at less than two acres a person; and one must remember that even this hypothetical small plot will only be intensely cultivated in a few of the more advanced countries.

As Robert C. Cook shows in this interesting volume, uncontrolled fertility may in the long run be an even greater problem than that of war.

The problem can only be tackled successfully on a realistic basis that many people, on religious or aesthetic grounds, may consider indefensible: mass contraception.

Of course the problem is not solely one of filling empty stomachs; uncontrolled growth in population, apart from leading to political expansionism and war, could result in a serious deterioration in the mental and physical quality of the race.

The situation is gloomy. The more intelligent and proficient (who are likely to have children of above the average level) tend to have fewer children, while the ignorant and feckless breed rapidly. This is equally true of Roman Catholic countries where mechanical or chemical forms of contraception are not practised widely.

Social workers and other persons of goodwill have, by simple medical means, checked the death-rate of certain less-advanced peoples, with the result that populations increase far beyond the safety level of food and other resources.

Not enough well-meaning people seem to be aware that too many people frequently must chase too little food, too few houses and flats, and too few of the amenities that go to make up a reasonably civilised life.

Mr. Cook's thesis is that of an enthusiast, but he proceeds in a scholarly way in stating the case for responsible limitation of the human population. Incidentally, he presents masses of facts, potentially dull and often depressing, in a way that holds one's attention.

The poverty line

By EDEN PEACOCK

WHEN B. Seebohm Rowntree made his first social survey of York in 1900 he found well over a third of the working-class population living in poverty, and a second survey in 1935 revealed that this proportion had been halved.

In a new book, "Poverty and the Welfare State: a third social survey of York dealing only with economic questions" (Longmans, Green & Co., 100 pp., 7s. 6d.), B. Seebohm Rowntree and G. R. Lavers examine the effect of the various welfare measures which have come into force since 1935.

The survey covers all families in York where the annual earnings of the chief wage-earners do not exceed £550 (the 1950 equivalent of £250 in 1936), and the writers conclude that less than two per cent. of these families now suffer from poverty. It is probable that the "poverty-line" which they use as a yardstick sets too austere a standard.

The minimum dietary, for children as well as adults, although sufficient in calories, includes no butter, an egg in every fifth week, and less than half-a-pint of milk a day. Moreover, my enquiries show that this dietary, costing 47s. 4d. a week for a family of five at the time of the survey, now costs 60s., and constantly rising prices when not accompanied by a corresponding rise in income must increase the incidence of poverty.

The importance of this book lies less in the wealth of intimate statistical material it contains than in the broad social trends it indicates. Children are taller and heavier than they were in 1936, and children in the higher income groups are taller and heavier than in lower income groups.

Poverty, now rare, is confined almost entirely to the old and to those who are permanently sick; it is striking that of the 846 families in York who are in poverty, not a single one is due to the unemployment of an able-bodied wage-earner. In our rapidly ageing population (those of us who are now in our thirties will be the first generation in which the number of grandparents exceeds the number of grandchildren) the way must be made easy for elderly people to continue at work so long as they can make a worth-while contribution.

It must be borne in mind that this book relates specifically to conditions in York, but it will appeal to all who are interested in family budgets and social trends. Some of the data could have been presented more clearly, and the methods used to obtain information about earnings will be repugnant to some readers. One of my own reactions on reading it was to reflect how much healthier some of us might be, and what a bumper harvest peace funds might receive, if more of us set ourselves our own personal "poverty-line" and lived by it. The season of good resolutions is close at hand!

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OUR CONTRIBUTORS

HORACE ALEXANDER: Friend of Gandhi and authority on India, he was one of those mainly responsible for the World Pacifist Meeting held there in 1949.

HAROLD BING: Chairman of the War Resisters' International. History Lecturer.

VERA BRITTAIN: Author of "The Testament of Youth," "In the Steps of John Bunyan," etc. A sponsor and former Chairman of the Peace Pledge Union and Treasurer of the Peace News Fund.

DORA DAWTRY has had many years experience as a school teacher and youth worker, and is now on the staff of Housman's Bookshop.

WILLIAM GERHARDI: Born in Russia, and author of many books on Russian and other subjects. Worked for the BBC European Service 1942-45.

ROBERT GREACEN: Until recently Public Relations Officer with the United Nations Association. Now working with the Authors' Peace Appeal.

DR. A. K. JAMESON: Ex-member of the Indian Civil Service. PPU Librarian at Dick Sheppard House.

ETHEL MANNIN: Novelist.

STUART MORRIS: General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union.

LADY PARMOOR: Vice-President of the National Peace Council and Treasurer of the Friends' Peace Committee.

EDEN PEACOCK: Secretary of the Friends' Industrial and Social Order Committee.

H. S. L. POLAK spent ten years with Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa. Former editor of Indian Opinion and adviser to the Indian community in South Africa.

DOUGLAS ROGERS: Pacifist journalist. At one time joint editor of the "Socialist Leader."

HUGH SCHONFIELD: Author, and leading authority on the Middle East, particularly the Suez Canal.

DEREK STANFORD: Literary critic. Recently published a book on Christopher Fry.

HALLAM TENNYSON: Social worker and writer. Former Friends' Relief Service worker in India.

A review by Jon Wynne-Tyson of "The Dam Busters" will appear in a forthcoming issue of Peace News.

Our trip proved that cold-war barriers can be broken

—U.S. peace cyclist

"WHETHER there is peace or war, depends upon the peoples themselves," Bill Sutherland—one of four American COs, who set out from Paris to cycle to Moscow on a peace mission—told a meeting at Friends House, London, last week.

"Leaders of governments can only do what they are doing if they receive silent acquiescence, or vocal support," he continued. "The UN could not play to an empty house. If people would say that there should be no arms, no fighting, no barriers; if they would go ahead and take a chance; then, indeed, a new era might be possible."

To be a pacifist, he said, meant to be a revolutionary. The Peacemakers group to which he belonged in the USA was a group of people who refused to register for military service, refused to make arms, and refused to pay taxes for military purposes.

But side by side with this civil disobedience, they were attempting to live as though the new society were already here: they developed small industries for mutual aid. For in the USA a conventional job meant a loyalty oath and military taxes; such schemes for pacifists were essential.

The climax to their European trip came, when having had a very frank discussion with the authorities at the Hotel Imperial in Vienna, and having sent a telegram to

Stalin, they were nevertheless unable to obtain visas for the Soviet Zone and decided to proceed to Baden, HQ of the Soviet Army in Austria, the nearest concentration of Soviet citizens, without permission.

Their friends in Vienna tried to dissuade them, they would be arrested; they would disappear; Russian soldiers might be punished if they took the leaflets, they were told. So impressed were they by these arguments that they made all arrangements necessary on the assumption that their return might be indefinitely delayed.

Then they laid their plans. They would take a train at Zero hour, they would go in pairs with some distance between each pair, they would take an Austrian observer to give the word in case of trouble. They would communicate by secret signs: tying a shoelace, for example. They would avoid officers since this might precipitate arrest.

Russians asked for more

Slowly they approached the first Russian soldiers. Their leaflets were taken with only the slightest hesitation. They approached others, the same thing happened. Once they were conscious that they were being followed and turned expecting arrest; but instead they were asked for a further batch of leaflets. Nowhere did they encounter fear or hostility or an atmosphere of terrorism.

One thing their trip had proved. People can speak to people in spite of legal and language difficulties. It now remained for others, perhaps on a larger scale, and with greater planning, to experiment on similar lines.

Christians must be ready to disobey State

FIFTY young people, including some non-pacifists, attended a conference on "Christ and Peace" held by the Birmingham FOR Youth Committee on Nov. 10 and 11.

Bob Judkins, speaking on "Christian Foundations," stressed the obligation laid upon Christians by the limitless love of God, to give loving service to their neighbours, at no matter what cost to themselves.

Hugh Faulkner, in a talk on "World Affairs," explained the needs of the millions of people in the undeveloped areas of the world. Communism, he said, was attractive to these people, but it only met man's material needs, and must be replaced by something which gave help and encouragement in the spirit of Christ. This could not be done while the resources of nations were being thrown away on armaments.

In a later talk Hugh Faulkner said that Christians must discipline themselves into complete obedience to Christ, even when this meant disobeying the State.

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WRITE TO-DAY

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Notes for your Diary

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address)—preferably in that order and style.

Friday, November 30

LONDON, N.W.1: 7 p.m. Friends Ho. Euston Rd.; "Let's face the Future"; James Avery Joyce; Labour Pacifist Fellowship.

RHYL: 7 p.m. Clwyd St. Welsh Presbyterian School room, Croeso Cynnes i Bawb: "The Quaker Mission to Moscow"; Frank Edmead; For.

Saturday, December 1

AYLESBURY: 3-6.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Rickfords Hill (few minutes from Bus Square); Christmas gift sale; Refreshments provided; Proceeds to PPU funds; Donations to Ethel Lewis, Brehull, Brill, Aylesbury; PPU.

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BANGOR: 2.30 p.m. Park Hill Welsh Presbyterian school room: The Quaker Mission to Moscow"; Frank Edmead; For.

LONDON, E.C.4: 6-10 p.m. Royal Scottish Corporation Hall, Fetter Lane: London Union For. dance; Tickets 2s. 6d. from 3s. Gordon Sq.; For.

NORTH LONDON: 3.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. 594 High Rd. N.17: Youth Annual Christmas bazaar. Guests of honour: Sybil Morrison, Bernard Boothroyd; Children's film show, slideshows, stall, buffet tea, Christmas party, music, dancing, etc.; Programmes from Harry Mister, c/o Peace News, 3 Blackstock Rd. N.4; PPU.

SHEFFIELD: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Burton Lane, 3; Christmas Fair; PPU.

SHREWSBURY: 3 p.m. Morris Hall: "Christ and Peace"; John Ferguson, MA. BD; Chair: Alfred Lidster; Public mtg; For.

WORCESTER: 3 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Sansome Walk: "Christians and Peace"; Hugh Faulkner; For.

Sunday, December 2

LONDON, N.W.1: 6.30 p.m. Friends Ho; Evening Mtg; Reginald Reynolds; Friends Peace Committee.

Monday, December 3

HACKNEY: 8 p.m. Dalston Congregational Ch. Middleton Rd.; Peace Brains Trust; Stuart Morris, Pastor Dawe, James Davy, Len Kottwitz, Hugh Brock; Hackney and Stoke Newington PPU.

ILFORD: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. corner Albert and Cleveland Rd.; Pacifist Brains Trust; For. SoF. PPU.

Tuesday, December 4

LEWISHAM: 8 p.m. 10 Perry Rise, Forest Hill, S.E.23 (Near Fire Station); Business mtg and discussion; PPU.

Wednesday, December 5

KENSINGTON: 8 p.m. 5 Horbury Cres. W.11: "A Positive Policy for Pacifists"; J. Allen Skinner; PPU.

SHEFFIELD: 7.30 p.m. 10 Norwood Rd; Telephone recital by Brian Wood; Light refreshments; PPU.

SOUTHEND: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. 16 Dundonald Drive, Leigh: "World Federal Government"; Discussion; PPU.

Thursday, December 6

BRISTOL: 5 p.m. Winifred Peter's, 53 -chiswick Rd. Cotham; Lilfrida Prowse; Tea; PPU.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Bush Lane: "Anarchism"; PPU.

LONDON, N.4: 8 p.m. 3 Blackstock Rd: "Korean Outlook"; Edith Adlam; North London Peace Centre.

LONDON, W.C.2: 12.30 p.m. Lincoln's Inn Fields; Open Air Meeting; Sybil Morrison; PPU.

Friday, December 7

LONDON, W.C.2: 1.30 p.m. St. Martin-in-the-Fields; Intercession; Service for Peace; The Rev. N. O. Porter, Vicar of St. Barnabas, Little Ilford; AFP, For, PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m. 8 Endsleigh Gardens; Members reading of favourite prose, poetry, or epistle; Central London PPU.

ST. ALBANS: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Upper Lattimore Rd; Russell Brayshaw, M.L.Mech.E.; "A recent visit to South Africa"; For.

STOCKTON-ON-TEES: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho. Dovecote St; For reforming group; For.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg Ho; Reginald Reynolds; Friends Peace Committee.

Saturday, December 8

BIRMINGHAM: 3.30-5.30 p.m. Friends Institute, 249 Warwick Rd; Christmas party for PPU members, children and friends; Games, buffet, tea, conjuring, entertainment; Cards and books for sale; Please bring gift for stall if possible; PPU.

CAMBERWELL: 6.30 p.m. Emmanuel Ch. Hall, Camberwell Rd; Social gathering; PPU.

GLASGOW, C.1: 3 p.m. Community Ho, 214 Clyde St; Brains Trust; For.

HODESDON: 1.30-10 p.m. Congregational Hall; Group social; Hodeleston and District Pacifist Group.

HUDDERSFIELD: 3 p.m. 4 Richmond Ave, Fartown; Bring and Buy sale, followed by mtg addressed by Leslie Pope at 6 p.m.; PPU.

Sunday, December 9

CARSHALTON BECHES: 3 p.m. 17 Hill Rd; "Edward Carpenter"; Frank Dawtry; Surrey Area PPU.

Peace News is open for the expression of all points of view relevant to pacifism. Articles in it, whether signed or unsigned, do not necessarily represent the policy of the Peace Pledge Union, of which it is the weekly organ. Nor does the acceptance of advertisements imply any endorsement of, or PPU connexion with, the matter advertised.

Up and Doing

MIRACLES

TEN days from when you read this a small group of PN directors will be taking the final decision about the future price of the paper. The deciding factor will be whether or not there are sufficient definite promises to bridge the £1,500 a year gap between minimum expenses for 1952 and income at the present level.

In a letter sent to groups and PN distributors last week we explained that the deficit could be met by a combination of the following:

1. More Advertisements: another column each week would bring us £500 a year.
2. A 50 per cent. circulation increase—equals £1,500 nett over our whole distribution.
3. Bulk Stationery sales: Housmans are retail stationers and can quote for bulk supplies to organisations.
4. Maximum Christmas Card sales this year.
5. New Fund Raising Methods: Voluntary Id. a week extra from regular readers; PN Fund Concerts and Socials; more readers taking collecting boxes, etc.

How many of these can you help with? Nothing less than a miracle can save off a price increase, but miracles do happen for Peace News; we are still hoping!

And should it not be our turn for a miracle we know our readers can be relied on to overcome the difficulties inherent in a change of price. But an all round effort NOW would be far better for our future work. H.F.M.

Circulation last week: 12,400

NEWS IN BRIEF

Canon Raven addressed a large meeting in Birkenhead Town Hall on Nov. 12. He urged that there should be a genuine attempt to understand better both the Russian and the American outlook. Great Britain today had a great opportunity to act for peace. On the other hand we had to take care that we did not let our country erect its own iron curtain.

Accent on Youth was the keynote of meetings addressed by Sybil Morrison at Bolton and Nelson during the weekend, Nov. 10-11. Vitality could only be maintained in the Peace Movement if we continued to attract the young people who are able to give the most effective answer to those who believe that strength in arms is the only guarantee of peace. Young men everywhere have the right to live full lives and should not be called upon to deny that right to their opposite numbers in other countries. Sam Walsh, the N-W Area Chairman, spoke on the false basis of the so-called volunteer arrangements, while Alderman Richard Bland urged that every help

should be given to those boys who had decided to say no to conscription.

A letter has been sent to the Minister of Justice, Pretoria, by more than forty people in Johannesburg and Capetown refusing to make representations to show why their names should not be placed on a list of members and supporters of the Communist Party, which has now been compulsorily dissolved by law. They say "The Government, by making the Act retrospective, has now illegalised what was formerly legal, and pushed South Africa a long way towards a Fascist Dictatorship."

Paul S. Cadbury, who took part in the Quaker Mission to the USSR, and recently returned from a visit to the United States, is to address a meeting organised by the Birmingham Peace Council at Carrs Lane Church on Dec. 4 at 7.30 p.m. He feels that there is a possibility of statesmanlike action to avert what appears to be growing tension.

CLASSIFIED ADVERTISEMENTS

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TERMS: Cash with order. 3d. per word, minimum 2s. 6d. (Box No. 6d. extra). Please don't send stamps in payment, except for old penny. Maximum length: 60 words. Address for Box No. replies: Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, N.4.
DISPLAYED ADVERTISEMENTS are required by the Thursday eight days prior to publication.
Terms: 12s. 6d. per single column inch and pro rata.

MEETINGS

INTERNATIONAL CLUB Bath. Every Tuesday. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

TEACHERS' CONFERENCE on "Education and Peace." Mrs. Leah Manning, Mrs. Dora Russell, Rev. Dr. A. D. Belden, Prof. F. R. Gregory, FRS, at Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge Rd. Victoria, on Sat., December 8 at 2.30 p.m. Admission 1s.

WEIGH HOUSE Church, Duke Street, W.1. (Bond St. Tube). Sunday evenings at 7. The Gospel of Peace! Social hour follows.

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volunteers at Peace News office. Day-time and every Wednesday evening we shall be grateful for help. Write, phone, or just drop in to Peace News (STAMFORD HILL 2262), 3 Blackstock Road (above Fish and Cook. Stationers, Finsbury Park, N.4.

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CHRISTADELPHIANS. Pamphlets setting forth their beliefs obtainable free from C. T. Butler, 122 New Road, South Darenth, Kent. Send now for "God's Remedy for a World in Distress" and find certainty in a world of doubt.

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IN MEMORIAM

IN LOVING memory of Elizabeth Rogers, dear wife of E. V. Rogers, who passed away four years ago. Her husband continually cherishes happy memories of her good works.

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ECONOMY LABELS. Save expense and envelopes, help to publish Peace News, by using Peace News Economy Labels. Large size, attractively printed, 1s for 50, 1s. 9d. 100, 17s. 6d. 1,000, post free. Plain labels also available at 3d. 100, 11s. 6d. 1,000 post free. Peace News Publications Dept., 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

MISCELLANEOUS

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Avenue, Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

No enthusiasm for the Home Guard

WHY Mr. SHINWELL OBJECTS

BRIGADIER ANTHONY HEAD, the new Secretary of State for War is a product of Sandhurst and the Guards and in the last war was on the General Staff.

In the last Parliament he was one of the foremost back bench critics of the Labour government on military matters, and obviously knew about the operations of the War Office. Now he is its spokesman and the other Brigadiers look down on him from the back benches with a mixture of approbation and envy.

Very few ex-officers who served in the last war seem to have much affection or admiration for the War Office and during the last Parliament it, and the War Minister, Mr. John Strachey, were the chief target of their Tuesdays' attacks.

But who are they to attack now? It will take a bold and brave back-bench Brigadier now to attack the War Office from the rear; he will risk having to face Mr. Churchill's scowls and growls.

Skeletons in Whitehall

Brigadier Head, however, is now the Minister and the gentlemen whom he baited in the last Parliament are now his critics. They, too, know the War Office from the inside. Shinwell, Strachey, Michael Stewart and Woodrow Wyatt know all about the skeletons they left behind in the cupboards at Whitehall.

The Home Guard Bill was the first to be produced and Brigadier Head has had to defend it against the ex-Ministers who know all about the proposals for a Home Guard, but think that the decision to start it now is premature.

Why not in Russia, too?

Brigadier Head advocated it in his speeches in the last Parliament and also in a Tory Party pamphlet published just previous to the Election.

It is rather interesting to note that in the short Election Manifesto written by Winston Churchill there was no mention of the Home Guard, perhaps because it might lead the electors to think that the Conservative Party was war-mongering and that this was an instalment of it.

Of course the Home Guard Bill is not preparation for war, like the £4,700,000,000 Defence programme it is an indication of our love of peace.

If the Russians suddenly decided to have a Home Guard it would certainly be regarded here as a further proof of their aggressive intentions, and we would soon be getting more figures from the War Office, showing how many more millions the Russians were adding to their huge army.

Yet the Russians have just as much excuse for enrolling a Home Guard.

One of the arguments used by Brigadier Head was that there might be a danger of paratroop attack.

In the notorious issue of *Colliers' Magazine* with its preview features of the war in which Russia is beaten and occupied there is a big coloured picture of a huge American paratroop attack on the atom bomb base in the Ural Mountains with a lurid description by an American war correspondent.

If the Russians decide on a Home Guard all they will have to do is to republish this American article with its illustrations and there will be a rush to join up.

Where the the recruits?

Nobody in the Debate, however, anticipated there was going to be a great rush to join the Home Guard here.

It was pointed out that there had been a very poor response to the call for recruits for Civil Defence and that this might also apply to the Home Guard.

The Minister was careful to explain that the Home Guard was a purely voluntary

organisation and that men joining it could resign on giving a month's notice in writing.

Ex-War Ministers fell upon their unwanted and posthumous child with considerable fury. Mr. Shinwell wanted to know whether the Home Guard could be called up in an industrial dispute as if uniformed soldiers hadn't been employed at the London docks recently under his auspices! Then what about this expenditure of £2,500,000 in addition to the £4,700,000,000.

Was the expenditure really necessary when the United Nations organisation was meeting in Paris and when "there is a new atmosphere in the world?"

The Labour Party would introduce amendments in the Committee stage to "ensure that nothing is done by the Tory Government to increase militaristic fervour in some parts of the country."

The Ex-Minister of Defence had swallowed the £4,700,000,000 camel but this £2,500,000 gnat was too much for him!

The Debate continued in a very thin House. There were exactly four Tory MPs present to listen to Sir Thomas Moore suggest that the Prime Minister should go on the air to make a stirring appeal for recruits for the Home Guard.

Sir Thomas wants the Home Guard to be non-political. When I ventured to ask if Communists would be allowed in he said, "I do not know."

If the Tories in the country show as little enthusiasm for the Home Guard as the Tory MPs did between five o'clock and nine during that debate the Communists might have a good chance of infiltrating into it and capturing it.

Make every effort to reach agreement with Russia

— JAMES HUDSON, M.P.

(Continued from page three)

opposite that the issue is not only whether Germany goes Communist or Democrat; the real issue is how Germany should be unified, whether by force or agreement.

There is no doubt that if free elections occur in East Germany Mr. Wilhelm Pieck would be in Moscow some weeks before they occur. Every one of the Communists would fly from Eastern Germany to Moscow, even before elections took place. Everyone knows that an election would mean the Russians accepting total liquidation of the East German Communist State—the totalitarian State in Eastern Germany would be swept away, and back to Moscow would flow the Communists just as they have done in North Korea and everywhere else.

The question is: Will they take that in exchange for our foregoing a German defence contribution?

There is a great knowledge of what is going on in both parts of Germany owing to the fact that the German Generals on both sides exchange information.

I have been asking myself, since the King's Speech, one question about "strength."

I have been asking how much stronger we have got since we started to get strong.

It was last January that we started to get really strong, when we swept up to £4,700 million. Let us see how much stronger we are after 12 months of getting stronger.

Of course, the Americans are far stronger.

The Germans are far stronger. They are taking our export markets one by one as we switch our factories over from motor cars to tanks. The Japanese are stronger. The only people who are much weaker are Britain and France. . . .

Production has stopped rising for the first time since the fuel crisis. Our exports are being crushed by the burden of rearmament. We are back to 1946. Six years of recovery have been destroyed by one year of seeking military strength.

I say that it is outrageous to surrender our independence, to surrender our power of restraining our allies, to over-burden ourselves and France, to weaken us both in the job which we should be doing, namely, to teach the Americans that this will last for 25 years, and they must budget for that. If we can get the Americans to realise that this will be a long slog, which may outlast the lives of our children, we shall be moving forward. We can only do that if we are independent economically of the Americans, and if we are making only the armaments we can afford. If we and France can stand together independent and united we can still save the peace of the world. . . .

Mr. A. Edward Davies (Lab., Stoke on Trent, North): The great difficulty in which the world finds itself today is because America is so powerful. . . . I could have wished that we had gained the impression more that we were an ally rather than a sort of satellite of the United States.

Mr. Christopher Mayhew (Lab., Woolwich

MUST PRESTIGE COME BEFORE NEGOTIATION?

The crux of Mr. Vishinsky's argument was an alleged contradiction between Western talks of disarmament and practice of full-scale rearmament.

—The Observer, Nov. 24, 1951

Mr. Churchill told the Commons that American Atom Bombers would be based in Britain so long as required in the interests of world peace and security.

—The Star, Nov. 21, 1951

The North Atlantic Treaty Council is expected to give political assent to far-reaching military plans. . . .

—The Observer, Nov. 24, 1951

ONLY a few weeks ago Mr. Eden deplored the use of propaganda speeches at the United Nations Assembly, and begged for constructive proposals, a plea with which all reasonable people would associate themselves; but, those who demand that propaganda should be discarded in favour of straight negotiation should surely set some example.

At the very time when Mr. Vishinsky was addressing the UN Political Commission, pointing out that the Western Powers plans for full-scale rearmament directly contradicted their proposals for disarmament, Mr. Eden was in Rome apparently giving complete endorsement to huge military and air-force schemes for Europe, America and Britain.

*

Meanwhile, in the absence of Mr. Eden, Mr. Churchill in the House of Commons makes a fighting speech in defence of air bases in this country for American Atom Bombers. They are here, he says, in the "interests of peace and security," and seems to forget that it was only two weeks ago when he said that Soviet antagonism would be roused against Britain by their presence in this island.

These contradictions are plain for those

of the meanest intelligence to understand, yet, when Mr. Vishinsky points out that our actions contradict our words he is instantly accused of making yet another propaganda speech.

It is said that Mr. Vishinsky wishes to prove that Russia is for peace and that America and Britain are for war. It is said that Eden sincerely wants to negotiate a peaceful settlement with Russia but that he is not deceived by their false proposals for disarmament. In fact, each side puts forward its own plan, facing it out obstinate and immovable, with the depressing challenge: "All or nothing."

In this case "nothing" means war, and it is a terrifying prospect if prestige is to come before negotiation, and war before peace-making. That has been the order in the past, and it requires more than Mr. Eden's eloquence, charm and diplomatic good manners to save the world from the consequences of this statesmanlike stupidity.

Russia's great armies, her new jet planes, and her atom bomb experiments, are matched against the armies of America and Europe, the new atomic weapons, and the air-bases in Britain and France; and while fear holds these two great armoured teams glaring at each other across their frontiers, the idea of trust, tolerance and mutual understanding is laughed out of court, not only by Mr. Vishinsky's ribaldry, but implicitly in every statement made on the floor of the Assembly.

The United Nations has deteriorated from a great idealistic drama to a pathetic farce; the authors have altered their high theme to low and vulgar "back-chat"; the actors have missed their cues and forgotten their lines. It is more than time to bring down the curtain and turn to construction of a new theme, backed by true endeavour.

*

Peaceful intentions need to be supported by peaceful actions; words are not enough. If Vishinsky means disarmament, let Russia disarm; if America and Britain mean disarmament let the NATO disband, for peace and security will never be found in military pacts and atom-bomb bases. The Foreign Secretaries and leaders of the two power blocs should think again.

Christopher Fry

(Continued from page one)

different' is fine, but to take one's ideas to where ideas are processed into propaganda for calculated mass-deception is, at best foolish."

The Sunday Observer also published a letter from ten members of the Musicians' Peace Organisation, including two sponsors of the Peace Pledge Union, Benjamin Britten, and Michael Tippett and also Cyril Scott and Peter Pears, pointing out that "the propagation of peace is not a criminal activity."

"It requires the united effort of all persons, whatever their political or religious beliefs; the common goal of peace will mean working with people of extreme Communist or of extreme pacifist views. But that does not involve wholesale acceptance of their particular philosophies."

The letter went on to say that if the musicians' and authors' peace organisations were witches to be hunted down, then so was the Church of God; so was its inspiration, Jesus Christ, and so was every philosopher who ever preached the brotherhood of man and the foolishness of war.

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